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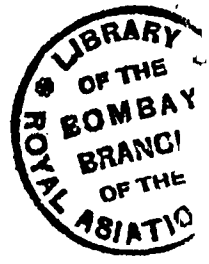

XENOPHON'S

MINOR WORKS,

COMPRISING THE

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AGESILAUS, HIERO, ŒCONOMICUS, BANQUET, APOLOGY OF SOCRATES, THE TREATISES ON THE LACEDÆMONIAN AND ATHENIAN GOVERNMENTS, ON REVENUES OF ATHENS, ON HORSEMANSHIP, ON THE DUTIES OF A CAVALRY OFFICER, AND ON HUNTING.

LITERALLY TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK,
WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY THE

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PREFACE.

THIS volume completes the "Classical Library" Translation of Xenophon's Works.

Most of the pieces contained in it have already been presented to the public in an English dress; but, excepting the version of the "Hiero" by Graves, and of the "Treatise on Horsemanship" given by Berenger in his history of that art, none of them can be said to adhere closely to the original. The "Treatise on the Revenues of Athens," translated by Walter Moyle, though generally correct, is extravagantly verbose.

To each piece are prefixed a few critical or illustrative remarks; and notes are appended to all passages where obscurity, or the conflicting opinions of commentators, appeared to render them necessary.

J. S. W.

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REMARKS

ON

THE AGESILAUS OF XENOPHON.

As Xenophon had been for several years the companion and familiar friend of Agesilaus in Asia, and also, after the machinations of Tithraustes, in Greece, it is not surprising that he desired to honour him after his death with a distinguished eulogy. That the "Agesilaus" was written with this view is stated by the author himself at the commencement of the treatise; and that Xenophon wished to present the example of an excellent king and general for imitation is signified in the tenth chapter.

The panegyric begins with a brief narrative of the military exploits of Agesilaus, which is followed by an equally concise account of his manners and character. Xenophon did not make it his object to give a detail of the life of Agesilaus in precise conformity with historical exactness; for to write a panegyric is a far different task from writing a biography: the biographer writes not only for his contemporaries, but for posterity; but the panegyrist merely recapitulates to the people of his own day what they have themselves seen or known, and consequently thinks it sufficient to touch on many of his facts, and to recall them to the memory of his readers, in very few words; and hence it happens that various particulars in this little treatise are related with great brevity, and, though well known in the time of Xenophon, are obscure to us. Such are those which we read in the second chapter, sect. 25, seqq.; nor would those which are told in sect. 6 and 20 be sufficiently intelligible, if we had not a knowledge of them from other sources.

But the greatest difference between the biographer and the encomiast is, that the biographer has to relate everything that is of importance to be known, for whatever reason, whether as deserving

of praise or of censure, while the encomiast merely selects such facts as may render the character of the person whom he praises most worthy of admiration and most agreeable to contemplate. Bearing this in mind, we shall not wonder that many circumstances are omitted in the Agesilaus which are related in the Hellenica; for Xenophon, in composing the eulogy of Agesilaus, has comprised in it whatever would exhibit to advantage the character of an excellent king and able general, but has passed over whatever would contribute nothing to the praises of his hero. He has accordingly made no mention of the envy with which Agesilaus is said to have annoyed Lysander, Hellen. iii. 4. 7; of the Spartan cavalry routed by that of Pharnabazus, iv. 3. 13; of the disaster of the Spartans described iv. 6. 10; or of the fact that the seizure of the Cadmeia was not disapproved by Agesilaus, v. 2. 32; since these particulars could have no place in a panegyric.

On the other hand, as many things are found in the Hellenics which could not be included in the eulogy, so many are mentioned in the eulogy which Xenophon regarded as having no concern with the history of Greece. Of this sort are the accounts of the descent and birth of Agesilaus, and of the power of the Spartans, c. 1, sect. 2; of Agesilaus's singular contrivance for enriching his soldiers, c. 17; of his mode of exercising and improving his troops, c. 2, sect. 7, and of several other matters.

The other portion of the treatise contains praises of the virtues and merits of Agesilaus; and here, as elsewhere, Xenophon writes as a disciple of Socrates. He first treats of the piety of Agesilaus, c. 3, without a foundation in which no other virtue can be imagined; and then of three other virtues, which always hold a chief place in the moral teaching of Socrates, justice, c. 4, temperance, c. 5, and fortitude, c. 6; with fortitude is coupled patriotism, c. 7, which, in a panegyric on a Spartan king, required particular notice; and after having enumerated the virtues of which every one who would be a man of integrity and honour must be possessed, he touches on those which are a credit to men of power and dignity, as modesty, readiness to do services, cheerfulness, kindness, disregard of assumption and mere wealth, good faith towards allies, contempt of external splendour and ostentation, and simplicity in dress and living, c. 8. That the nature of this simplicity may be more clearly exhibited, a comparison is then made, c. 9, between Agesilaus and the king of Persia; and in the tenth chapter, Xenophon sets forth Agesilaus as an example in every way deserving of imitation.

The panegyric being thus, as is evident, properly and excellently brought to a conclusion, it may seem strange that an eleventh chapter is added. A glance at the contents of this chapter will show that they want connexion and proper arrangement; but what was the origin or object of the fragmentary sentences of

which it is composed no critic has as yet clearly discovered. That Schneider is greatly mistaken, in supposing that the principles and sources of virtues are indicated in the chapter, is very plain. The hypothesis adopted by Heiland is of a different nature, but not at all nearer the truth; for he imagines that Xenophon thought of correcting the Agesilaus, and noted down, for that purpose, the sentences contained in this chapter, intending to substitute them for what is now contained in the second portion of the panegyric. These two points he has not made clear, as he ought to have done; he has not shown why Xenophon should have meditated a correction of the treatise, nor proved that what he thinks Xenophon would have substituted is better than what we now find. Sauppe has given a more plausible opinion, as he felt persuaded that the sentences forming the eleventh chapter were written, not after, but before, the treatise was composed. BREITENBACH.

After some further remarks, Breitenbach gives it as his opinion (agreeing in this point with Sauppe and Heiland) that the sentences or memoranda constituting the eleventh chapter were found after Xenophon's death, and that somebody composed an additional chapter out of them, placing at the head of it the few introductory words that now stand there.

Valckenaer, on Herod. ix. 27, and some other critics, have expressed a suspicion that the "Agesilaus" is not Xenophon's, as the style of it is more sustained than that of a great portion of his other writings; but it can hardly be taken from him on this account, for there are in the Cyropædia, as Breitenbach observes, and in other parts of Xenophon's works, many passages not less elevated in diction, and some even more so, than any parts of the Agesilaus. Both Weiske and Schneider agree in opposing Valckenaer.

XENOPHON'S

EULOGY OF AGESILAUS.

CHAPTER I.

The birth of Agesilaus and his personal merit, for which he was made king. His expedition to Asia; his truce with Tissaphernes, which the satrap violates; his successful invasion of Phrygia. His clemency to his prisoners. He raises a body of cavalry, defeats Tissaphernes, and lays waste the territory of Sardis. He is recalled to the defence of his country, and is attended by many of the Asiatic Greeks, whom he had attached to himself by his kind and judicious conduct.

1. I AM well aware that it is not easy to write an adequate eulogium of either the virtues or glory of Agesilaus. But the attempt must nevertheless be made; for it would not be right, that because he was a thoroughly good man, he should on this account fail of obtaining any praises, though even less than he deserved.[1]

2. With respect then to his nobility of birth, what could any one say of it, greater or more honourable, than that even to the present day, when his ancestors are mentioned,[2] it is

[1] Οὐδὲ μειόνων ἐπαίνων.] *Ne inferiores quidem virtutibus.* Breitenbach.

[2] Τοῖς προγόνοις ὀνομαζομένοις ἀπομνημονεύεται.] *Etiam nunc, quum majores enumerantur, unâ commemoratur Agesilaus, quotus ab Hercule fuerit.* Breitenbach. He observes that such datives generally have a reference to *time* in connexion with the nominative case to the verb on which they depend; and refers to Herod. ix. 10, θυομένῳ οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ ὁ ἥλιος ἀμαυρώθη. Plat. Protag. p. 321 c., ἀπορουῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἔρχεται Προμηθεύς. Thucyd. iv. 56, τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις τότε τὴν παραθαλάσσιον δηοῦσι τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἡσύχασαν. Xen. Anab. v. 1. 10, Ξενοφῶντι διὰ τῆς μεσογαίας πορευομένῳ (i. e. *when* he was going) οἱ ἱππεῖς προκαταθέοντες ἐντυγ-

recounted how far removed he was in his descent from Hercules;[1] and these ancestors being, not private individuals, but kings the descendants of kings. 3. Nor, indeed, as to this point, could any one possibly disparage them, by saying that

χάνουσι πρεσβευταῖς πορευομένοις, κ. τ. λ. On this use of the dative he adds, consult, above all, Bernhardy, Synt. p. 82; Matth. Gr. Gr. § 562, 2; Rost. § 131, 3; Buttm. § 145, 5; Kühn, § 669.

[1] The Lacedæmonians had always two kings, of the two families of Proclus and Eurysthenes, who were the first kings of Sparta, and descendants of Hercules. See C. Nep. Ages. c. 1. The subjoined table shows the descent of Agesilaus from Hercules.

HERCULES

Married (1) Dejanira, (2) Auge, daughter of Aleus king of Arcadia, famed for his skill in building temples.

1. Hyllus, who defeated and slew Eurystheus, married Iole, daughter of Eurystheus.	1. Antilochus.	1. Ctesippus.	2. Telephus, king of Lycia.

Cleodæus. He endeavoured to recover the Peloponnesus after his father's death, but to no purpose.

Aristomachus, with his three sons, conquered the Peloponnesus.

Aristodemus becomes king of Sparta; married Argia, daughter to Autesion.	Cresphontes, king of Messenia, married Merope, daughter of Cypselus, king of Arcadia.	Temenus becomes king of Argos, having expelled the reigning sovereign Tisamenes.
Procles. His descendants were called Procleidæ.	Eurysthenes. His descendants were called Eurysthenidæ, afterwards Agidæ.	Twin brothers, they both reigned together, by order of the oracle of Delphi.

Soüs.

Eurypon. His reign was so glorious that his descendants were called Eurypontidæ.

Prytanis.

Eunomus.

Polydectes. Lycurgus, the celebrated lawgiver, was the guardian of Charilaus, who was a posthumous child.

Nicander.

Theopompus. He established the Ephori.

Anaxandrides. Archidamus, died before his father.

they were indeed kings, but kings of an ordinary state;[1] for, as their family is the most honourable of their native land, so their state is also the most renowned in Greece; so that they are not first amongst the second, but chief amongst the chief.[2] 4. On this account, assuredly, it is right to eulogize alike[3] both his native country and his family; for neither did the state at any period, through envy of their preëminence in honour, attempt to overthrow their authority; nor did the kings ever aim at greater power than was consistent with the terms on which they received the kingly authority at first.[4] Accordingly no other government is known, whether democratic, or oligarchic, or tyrannic, or hereditary, that has continued constantly uninterrupted, but this government alone maintains an unbroken succession.

5. That Agesilaus, however, even before he began to reign, was thought worthy of the throne, the following circumstances are proofs. For when Agis, who was king, died, and when

Archidamus.
Anaxilaus.
Leotychides.
Hippocratides.
Agis. He attempted to restore the laws of Lycurgus at Sparta, and was strangled by order of the Ephori.
Menares.
Leotychides. He defeated the Persians at the famous battle of Mycale.
Zeuxidamus. Lampito.
Archidamus II.
Agis II. Agesilaus II. (Agesilaus I. was of the family of Eurysthenidæ.)

[1] Πόλεως δὲ τῆς ἐπιτυχούσης.] Such a state as may easily be met with; i. e. small and of no account.

[2] They were not the leaders of the second-rate powers of Greece, but the chief of the first-rate powers.

[3] Κοινῇ, in the sense of *unà, pariter, simul*, as Sturz very properly takes it in his Lexicon.

[4] Οὐδεπώποτε μειζόνων ὠρέχθησαν, κ. τ. λ.] *Nunquam majora concupiverunt, quàm ferrent conditiones, quibus initio regnum acceperant.* Sauppe.

Leotychidas on the one hand, as son of Agis, Agesilaus on the other, as son of Archidamus, contended for the throne, the state, having decided that Agesilaus was more free from objection, both as to birth and merit,[1] appointed him king. And, in truth, when he was, in a most powerful state, deemed by the most honourable worthy of the highest honour, what further proof is required of his merit, at least before he began to reign?

6. It is the actions, however, which he performed during his reign, that I shall now[2] relate; for from his actions I consider that his character also will be best shown. Agesilaus, then, while he was still in the prime of life,[3] obtained the kingly authority; and, when he was but just established in the government, news was spread that the king of the Persians[4] was collecting a large naval and land force, as if intending to make an attack upon the Greeks. 7. But while the Lacedæmonians and their allies were deliberating on these tidings, Agesilaus offered,[5] if they would give him thirty Spartans,[6] and two thousand neodamods,[7] and the complement of allies, to the number of six thousand, to cross over into Asia, and

[1] What is here attributed solely to the birth and merit of Agesilaus, was due in a great measure to the influence of Lysander. See Plutarch, Ages. c. 3; Nep. Ages. c. 1. Pausan. iii. 8, fin. Nor has Xenophon in the Hellenics, iii. 3. 3, failed to notice this point, which however he did not think fit to introduce in a eulogy. *Breitenbach.*

[2] Νῦν ἤδη.] Anab. vi. 32, Ὡς καὶ νῦν Δέξιππος ἤδη διέβαλλεν αὐτόν. *Breitenbach.*

[3] Ἔτι μὲν νεος ὤν.] From c. 2, sect. 28, it appears that Agesilaus died when he was about eighty years old, B. C. 360 or 361, and as he became king B. C. 398, he must then have been about forty-three years of age. *Breitenbach.* See Plutarch, Ages. c. 1). *Juvenis* in Latin is used in as extended a sense as νέος here. *Schneider.*

[4] Artaxerxes. The commencement of the war is mentioned by Xenophon, Hell. iii. 3. 4; 4. 1.

[5] Agesilaus is said by Xenophon, Hellen. iii. 4. 2, to have undertaken this expedition, and the command of it, by the persuasion of Lysander; see also Plutarch, Ages. c. 6; Lysand. c. 23. *Heiland.*

[6] The thirty Spartan nobles are meant, who used to accompany the king when he took the field, and act as counsellors to him. Plutarch calls them thirty ἡγεμόνες and συμβοῦλοι. *Schneider.* See Xen. Hellen. iii. 4. 20, v. 2. 7, vii. 2, 3; Plutarch, Ages. c. 6; Lysand. c. 23; Diod. Sic. xiv. 79.

[7] The νεοδαμωδεῖς, or "newly enfranchised," were freedmen, but distinct from the Helots who had obtained their freedom, as appears from Thucyd. v. 34, and Athen. vi. 102. That the Spartans themselves were

endeavour to make peace; or, if the barbarian preferred fighting, to allow him no leisure for marching against the Greeks. 8. Immediately, then, many, since the Persian had formerly[1] crossed over into Greece, greatly admired this desire of going over against him, as well as the resolution to fight with him by attacking rather than waiting to be attacked, and the wish to carry on the war by consuming his resources, rather than allowing those of the Greeks to be consumed; and it was judged the most honourable of all things to make a struggle for the dominion, not of Greece, but of Asia.

9. But after he took his army and set sail, how can any one more plainly show how he acted as commander, than by narrating the actions themselves which he performed? 10. The following was his first action in Asia. Tissaphernes[2] took an oath to Agesilaus, that if he would make a truce until the messenger whom he was sending to the king should return, he would procure for him that the Greek cities in Asia should be left independent; and Agesilaus took an oath on his part, that he would observe the truce faithfully, prescribing three months for the completion of the matter. 11. Tissaphernes, however, immediately violated the conditions to which he had sworn; for, instead of keeping peace, he sent for a large force from the king, in addition to that which he had before; while Agesilaus, though he was aware of this, nevertheless adhered to the terms of the truce. 12. To me, then, he seems to have done this, first of all, with great honour, as, by showing Tissaphernes to be perjured, he caused him to be distrusted by all; and by showing himself on his own part, first, as an observer of oaths, secondly, as no violator of agreements, he induced all, both Greeks and barbarians, to enter with him confidently into any compact that he wished to make.

13. But when Tissaphernes, greatly elated at the army which came down to him, declared war against Agesilaus, unless he should withdraw from Asia, the rest of the allies,

not sent out in those times to carry on war in distant countries, but the periœci and neodamods, is rightly inferred by Heiland from Thucyd. vii. 58; Xenoph. Hellen. iii. 1. 4; v. 2. 24. *Breitenbach.*

[1] It is to the expeditions of Darius and Xerxes that allusion is made. *Breitenbach.*

[2] Chief of the king's satraps; an unprincipled man, and eminently hostile to the Greeks. Plutarch, Ages. c. 10. *Breitenbach.*

and the Lacedæmonians who were present, became manifestly much troubled, considering that the force then with Agesilaus was inferior to the force of the king; but Agesilaus, with a very cheerful countenance, ordered the ambassadors to report to Tissaphernes that he was under a great obligation to him; because, by committing perjury, he had got himself the gods for enemies, but had made them allies to the Greeks. 14. Immediately after this he gave orders to his soldiers to make preparations as if for an expedition; and he sent notice to the cities, to which it was necessary for him to go in marching into Caria, to prepare provisions for sale; he also directed the Ionians, Æolians, and dwellers near the Hellespont, to send to him at Ephesus the troops that were to march with him. 15. Tissaphernes, on his part, thinking —as well because Agesilaus had no cavalry, and Caria was unsuited for horse, as because he considered that he was enraged with him on account of his deceit—that he would certainly march into Caria to make an attack upon his palace there, transported thither the whole of his infantry, and led round his cavalry to the plain of the Mæander, supposing that he was strong enough to trample down the Greeks with his horse before they could reach the parts that were difficult for cavalry. 16. But Agesilaus, instead of advancing towards Caria, turned in the opposite direction, and proceeded straight towards Phrygia; and, taking the forces that met him on the march, he led them on, and reduced the towns, and, as he fell upon them unexpectedly, took a vast quantity of booty. 17. He was thought also to have acted in this respect in a manner worthy of a general, namely, that when war was declared, and to deceive became from that time just and right, he showed that Tissaphernes was a mere child in deceit; and he was considered to have prudently enriched his friends on the occasion. 18. For when everything was sold at almost next to nothing, in consequence of so much booty having been taken, he gave notice to his friends to buy, saying that he should shortly go down to the sea,[1] taking down with him his army; and he ordered those that sold the spoil to write down at what price his friends bought anything, and to de-

[1] To some place of trade on the coast, where they might sell what they had bought to advantage. *Schneider.*

liver up[1] the property to them; so that his friends, without paying ready money for anything, or causing detriment to the public treasury, all amassed large sums of money.[2] 19. Besides, when deserters, as was common, went to the king,[3] and offered to guide him to treasures,[4] he took care that these also should be captured by his friends, that they might at once get money, and become more distinguished. By these means, accordingly, he soon rendered many desirous of his friendship.

20. But being well aware that a country which has been ravaged and desolated could not possibly support an army for a long time, but that one which is inhabited and cultivated might afford never-failing sustenance, he made it his object not only to subdue his enemies by force, but to win them over by mildness. 21. He often, indeed, desired his soldiers not to ill-treat those whom they took prisoners, as if they were dishonest characters, but to take care of them as human beings; and frequently, when he moved his camp, if he observed that any little children belonging to the traders, (children that many used to sell,[5] because they thought that they should be unable to carry them about and keep them,) had been left behind, he took care also of these, that they might all be conveyed to some place together.[6] He directed also such of the prisoners as were left behind on account of their age, to

[1] Προΐεσθαι.] *Arbitrio permittere; emptori res venditas tradere.* Breitenbach.

[2] They made their profits without apparent detriment to the public treasury, because they paid (after they had sold the property) what they had engaged to give for it when it was offered for sale, as recorded against them in the accounts of the λαυροπῶλαι, or commissioners who sold it; what they actually sold it for, beyond what they had promised to give, was their profit. All booty taken in war among the Lacedæmonians was, as Breitenbach observes, public property.

[3] Agesilaus.

[4] Χρήματα ἐξέλοιεν ὑφηγεῖσθαι.] To point out hidden treasures, or sums of money, and to act as guides to the places where they were deposited. *Schneider.*

[5] Children, which the soldiers had seized as a portion of spoil, are mentioned as having been bought by the camp-followers, in the Cyropædia, iv. 5. 42; vi. 2. 38. *Breitenbach.* The ἔμποροι in the text are, as Schneider observes, the camp-followers.

[6] Ὅπως συγκομίζοιντό ποι.] Might be brought together into some safe place without the camp, where the older prisoners might keep them under their charge. *Schneider.*

take charge of them, that they might not be destroyed by dogs or wolves. So that not only those who heard of this conduct, but even the very prisoners themselves, became well-disposed towards him. 22. And whatever cities he gained over, exempting them from such services as slaves perform for their masters, he imposed upon them only such obedience as the free pay to their rulers; and some of the fortresses which could not have been taken by force, he brought into subjection by his humanity.

23. When, however, he could not pursue his marches through the plains, even in Phrygia, on account of the cavalry of Pharnabazus, it became evident to him that he must raise a body of cavalry, so that it might not be necessary for him to carry on the war like a fugitive. 24. He therefore made a list of the richest men in all the cities in those parts, to keep horses; and he gave notice that whoever should supply a horse and arms, and an approved rider, should be exempted from serving in person; and he thus made every one do this as readily as if he were eagerly seeking for a man to die in his stead. He pointed out towns also, from which it would be proper to procure horsemen, thinking, that among the horse-breeding towns soldiers would be raised immediately, and such as most prized themselves on their equestrian skill. He was considered, too, to have done this with admirable success, since not only was a body of cavalry prepared for him, but one that quickly became efficient and fit for service.

25. As soon, then, as spring appeared, he collected all his forces at Ephesus; and wishing to exercise them well, he offered prizes to the troops of horse, for such as should ride best, and to those of the heavy-armed infantry, for such as should present their men in the best condition. To the targeteers and archers he also proposed prizes, for such as should appear best at their respective duties. In consequence, any one might have seen the places of exercise crowded with men practising, and the horse-course full of horsemen riding about, and javelin-men and archers aiming at marks. 26. He made, indeed, the whole city, in which he was, worth seeing; for the market-place was full of all kinds of arms and horses for sale, and the workers in brass, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, the curriers, and decorators,[1] were all engaged in pre-

[1] Γραφεῖς.] Those who decorated the arms and other equipments.

paring arms; so that you would have thought the city in fact a workshop of war. 27. And a spectator would have been cheered at seeing also Agesilaus first, and after him the rest of the soldiers, crowned with chaplets whenever they returned from the places of exercise, and dedicating their chaplets to Diana; for wherever men reverence the gods, practise warlike exercises, and observe obedience to their commanders, how can it be otherwise than natural that all things there should be full of good hopes?

28. Thinking, too, that contempt for their enemies might inspire some courage for fighting, he ordered the heralds to sell the barbarians, who were taken prisoners by their foraging parties, in a state of partial nudity; and the soldiers accordingly, seeing that their skins were perfectly white, in consequence of never stripping themselves, and that they were fat and unfit for labour, from always going about in carriages, thought that the war would be of no other nature than if they had to fight with women. He gave notice also to his soldiers, that he would immediately lead them by the shortest route to the strongest parts of the country, that they might straightway [1] prepare themselves for him both in body and mind, with the prospect of coming to a contest. 29. Tissaphernes, however, was of opinion that he said this with the intention of deceiving him again, and that he would now in reality advance into Caria. He therefore sent over his infantry, as on the former occasion, into Caria, and his cavalry he posted in the plain of the Mæander. But Agesilaus used no deceit; but, as he gave out, advanced at once into the territory of Sardis, and marching for three days through a part of the country free from enemies, procured his army abundance of provisions. 30. On the fourth day the cavalry of the enemy appeared; and their commander told the officer in charge of the baggage to cross the river Pactolus and to encamp; the cavalry themselves, seeing the men in the rear of the Greeks [2] dispersed in search of plunder, slew many of them. Agesilaus, perceiving what was taking place, ordered the cavalry to advance to their succour; and the Persians, on their side, when they saw

[1] Αὐτόθεν.] *Statim.* Comp. vi. 2. 31; Memorab. ii. 8. 1; ubi vide Kühn. *Breitenbach.*

[2] Τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκολούθους.] Aristides, 793, understands τοὺς τελευταίους τῶν Ἑλλήνων, i. e. the rear-guard. *Breitenbach.*

the reïnforcement coming up, collected themselves together, and drew up against them with the whole of their numerous troops of horse. 31. Upon this, Agesilaus, knowing that the enemy's infantry was not yet come up,[1] and that on his side no part of the preparations which he had made was deficient, thought it a favourable opportunity to come to a battle, if he found it possible. After having sacrificed, therefore, he immediately led his main body against the cavalry arrayed in front of him, and ordered those of the heavy-armed men who were past twenty-seven years of age,[2] to hurry forward at the same time with them, and told the targeteers also to advance running. He then ordered the cavalry also to charge, as he and all the rest of the army would follow close upon them. 32. The bravest of the Persians, indeed, stood the charge of the cavalry; but when every species of danger menaced them at the same time, they gave way; and some of them immediately met their fate in the river,[3] while the rest fled. The Greeks pursue and take their very camp; and the targeteers, as was to be expected, betook themselves to plundering; while Agesilaus, taking possession of all the neighbouring parts, both friendly and hostile, extended his camp round about.[4]

33. But when he heard that the enemy were thrown into disorder in consequence of blaming one another for what had happened, he immediately led his army against Sardis. There he at the same time burned and ravaged the lands around the city, and also gave notice by proclamation, that those who were desirous of liberty should come to him as to an ally; but that if any were for making Asia their own, they should

[1] They had been sent into Caria, sect. 29. *Breitenbach.*

[2] Τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης.] Those who were at least eight and twenty years of age, ἥβη, or puberty, being fixed by the Spartans at eighteen. An abbreviation for τοὺς τὰ δέκα ἔτη ἀφ' ἥβης γεγονότας. Compare Hellen. iii. 4. 15.

[3] Ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἔπεσον.] *Ceciderunt in flumine, non inciderant in flumen.* Dindorf ad Hellen. iii. 4. 24.

[4] Occupying all the circumjacent country, as well what belonged to his friends as what had just been taken from the enemy, he extended his encampment round about it. This he did to prevent the enemy, though dispersed, from making any attack on the booty which he had taken; but hearing that the enemy were in perturbation, he found that his precaution was unnecessary, and accordingly broke up his camp and advanced to Sardis. *Breitenbach.* Schneider aptly refers to Cyrop. iii. 1. 6.

come in arms to decide the matter with those who were seeking to liberate it. 34. As no one came out against him, however, he afterwards proceeded fearlessly, seeing the Greeks, who were before compelled to worship the Persians, honoured by those by whom they had been insulted; and having made those who thought themselves worthy to enjoy the honours paid to the gods unable to look in the face of the Greeks; securing the territory of his friends, also, from being ravaged, and reaping such fruits from the territory of his enemies, that in two years he made an offering to the god at Delphi of a tenth part of the spoil, to the amount of more than a hundred talents.

35. The king of the Persians, however, thinking that Tissaphernes was the cause of his affairs being in an ill state, sent down Tithraustes, and had his head cut off.

After this the condition of the barbarians grew more depressed, whilst that of Agesilaus became stronger; for embassies came to him from all nations to solicit his friendship, and many, eager for freedom, revolted to him; so that Agesilaus was no longer leader of the Greeks only, but also of many barbarians. 36. It is but right, also, to feel extraordinary admiration for him for this reason, that he who was ruler of several states on the continent, and ruler also of the islands, since his country put the fleet too into his hands, and who was exalted both in reputation and power, having the privilege moreover of availing himself of many and excellent advantages for whatever object he desired, and, in addition to this, entertaining, what was the greatest of all, the design and the hope of overthrowing the empire which had before invaded Greece, was nevertheless overcome by none of these distinctions, but, when a despatch came to him from the authorities at home, calling on him to come to the support of his country, he obeyed the orders from the state with no less readiness than if he had been standing alone in the court of the Ephori before the five;[1] making it quite evident that he would not receive even the whole earth in exchange for his country, or newly acquired friends in the place of his old ones, or advantages that were disgraceful and free from danger, in preference to such as

[1] In the presence of the five Ephori. "He obeyed the orders of the absent magistrates with as much respect as if he had been a private person in the court at Sparta." *Corn. Nep. Ages.* c. 4.

were honourable and just, even though attended with danger. 37. As long, however, as he continued in authority, did he not exhibit also the following part of his conduct as that of a king worthy of praise? for, having found all the states to which he sailed to take the government of them, divided into factions, on account of their constitutions having been disturbed when the Athenians ceased to rule,[1] he made those states, as long as he himself was present, continue to be governed with unanimity and prosperity, without having occasion to resort to the punishment of exile or death. 38. The Greeks in Asia, therefore, grieved for him when he departed, not merely as a commander, but as a father and a friend; and they showed in the end that they offered no feigned friendship; at least they voluntarily joined in rendering him assistance on behalf of Lacedæmon; and that, too, though, they were aware that they would have to fight with men not inferior to themselves. Such, then, was the conclusion of his acts in Asia.

CHAPTER II.

Agesilaus crosses the Hellespont, and is assailed, after marching through Thrace and Macedonia, by the Thessalians and other allies of the Thebans, but puts them to flight. He defeats the Thebans and their supporters at Coronea, and returns to Sparta. He undertakes another expedition, and captures the harbour of Corinth. He defeats the Acarnanians He reinstates those who had been exiled from Phlius. He twice lays waste Bœotia, and, after the battle of Leuctra, takes vengeance on the people of Tegea, and defends his country against the whole force of the Bœotians. At an advanced age he acts as an ambassador for his countrymen. But even when he is eighty years old, he undertakes an expedition into Egypt, to assist Tachus, who had invited him thither. Being deceived by Tachus, he deserts him, supports Nectanebus against his rival Mendesius, and places him on the throne. He returns home with increased reputation and wealth.

1. HAVING crossed over the Hellespont, he marched through the same nations through which the Persian king[2] had

[1] At the end of the Peloponnesian war, when the chief power was transferred from the Athenians to the Spartans, the governments in the towns of the Asiatic Greeks were changed, and the ruling power, which had been in the hands of the people, was put into those of the aristocracy. See Plutarch, Ages. c. 15. *Breitenbach.*

[2] Xerxes.

marched with his vast army; and the march which the barbarian took a year to accomplish, Agesilaus performed in less than a month; for he was extremely anxious not to be too late to give assistance to his country. 2. But when, after passing through Macedonia, he came to Thessaly, the Larissæans, Cranonians, Scotussæans, and Pharsalians, being allies of the Bœotians, and all the Thessalians, indeed, except such as happened to be then in exile,[1] pursued and harassed him. For a time he led his army in an oblong form, with half of his cavalry in the van, and the other half in the rear. But when the Thessalians, by continually assailing the hindmost, retarded his march, he despatches to the rear also the cavalry from the front, except those immediately about himself.[2] 3. But when they drew up face to face with each other in battle-array, the Thessalians, thinking that they were not on fit ground for charging with cavalry against heavy-armed infantry, wheeled about, and slowly retreated; and the troops of Agesilaus followed them at a very moderate pace.[3] But Agesilaus, perceiving the mistake which both parties were committing, sends off the cavalry that he had about him, a very efficient body of men, and orders them to tell the others to pursue, and to pursue also themselves at their utmost speed, and not to allow the enemy again an opportunity of facing about. But when the Thessalians saw them thus unexpectedly advancing, some of them did not even wheel round, and others, as they were endeavouring to face about, were taken prisoners in the very act of turning their horses round.[4] 4. Polycharmus, however, the commander of the Pharsalian horse, faced about and was killed fighting, together with those

[1] This exile of the Thessalians occurred at the time when Lycophron of Pheræ sought to make himself master of all Thessaly; an attempt mentioned only by Xenophon, Hellen. ii. 3. 4, and Diod. Sic. xiv. 82. *Heiland.*

[2] Πλὴν τῶν περὶ αὐτόν.] This is the reading adopted by Dindorf and Breitenbach. The old editors have καὶ instead of πλήν. "The cavalry meant are the three hundred who always attended on the king as he rode in front of the army. See Thucyd. v. 72; Xenophon, Rep. Lac. c. 13." *Breitenbach.*

[3] Μάλα σωφρόνως.] Compare c. 6, sect. 7, "Ωσπερ ἂν παρθένος ἡ σωφρονεστάτη προβαίνοι. *Breitenbach.*

[4] Πλαγίους ἔχοντες τοὺς ἵππους.] Before they had quite wheeled their horses round, and fronted their assailants. *Breitenbach.*

about him. When this happened, a disastrous flight[1] took place, so that some of the enemy were killed, and others taken prisoners; and they accordingly did not halt till they arrived at Mount Narthacium. 5. And then indeed Agesilaus set up a trophy between Pras and Narthacium,[2] and halted there, greatly delighted at his exploit, in having defeated with cavalry which he himself had formed, a people who prided themselves on their skill in horsemanship. Next day, crossing the Achæan mountains[3] of Phthia, he proceeded during the rest of his march through a friendly district, till he came to the confines of the Bœotians.

6. Here having found the Thebans, Athenians, Argives, Corinthians, Ænianes,[4] Eubœans, and both the Locrians,[5] drawn up in array against him, he did not make any delay, but openly drew up his forces to oppose them, having, of the Lacedæmonians, indeed, a mora[6] and a half, but of the allies from the neighbouring districts[7] only the Phocians and Orchomenians, and the rest of the force which he led himself. 7. And I am not going to say this, that though he had much less numerous and inferior forces, he nevertheless engaged; for, if I should say so, I think that I should prove Agesilaus to be mad, and myself foolish, by praising a man who rashly incurred danger in matters of the greatest moment. But I the more admire this action of his, that he both prepared a force which was not less numerous than that of the enemy, and armed them in such a manner that they appeared wholly covered with brass and purple. 8. He made it his care also that the soldiers should be able to endure toils. He inspired their minds, too,

[1] *φυγὴ ἐξαισία.*] Ἐξαίσιος (ἐξ and *αἶσα, fatum*) signifies properly *beyond what is destined or fated;* hence *extraordinary, monstrous, violent, calamitous.*

[2] Both these towns lie between Phthiotis and Pelasgiotis, not far from Mount Narthacium, and not very far from Pharsalus. Comp. Plutarch, Ages. c. 16. *Breitenbach.*

[3] There was a part of Thessaly called Achaia. Compare Xen. Hellen. iv. 3. 9.

[4] Inhabitants of Ænias, a town of Thessaly, near Mount Cyphus. *Breitenbach.*

[5] The Ozolian and Opuntian Locrians, as appears from Xen. Hellen. iv. 2. 7.

[6] According to the appointment of Lycurgus, the infantry and cavalry of Sparta were divided into six *moræ*. See Xen. Rep. Lac. c. ii. sect. 4. *Breitenbach.* A mora consisted of 512 men.

[7] Αὐτόθεν.] *Ex illâ regione*, i. e. from Bœotia. *Breitenbach.*

with such courage, that they were in a condition to fight against whomsoever it might be requisite ;[1] and he animated those about him with emulation of one another in order that each of them might strive to show himself the best. He filled all likewise with hopes that they would all secure many advantages, if they proved themselves brave men ; thinking that from such motives[2] men would fight most eagerly against their enemies ; nor indeed was he deceived.

9. But I will give a detailed account of the battle ; for it was such as no other of the battles in our days ; since there came together at the plain of Coroneia, Agesilaus and his troops on the side of the Cephisus, and the Thebans and their allies on the side of Mount Helicon ; and they saw that the troops on each side were very equally matched ; and the cavalry also of both parties were nearly alike in number. Agesilaus led the right wing of his own army, and the Orchomenians were posted at the extremity of his left ; on the other side, the Thebans themselves were on the right wing, and the Argives formed their left. 10. Whilst they were advancing to the charge, there was for some time deep silence on both sides ; but when they were distant from one another about a stadium, the Thebans raised the war-shout and advanced to the charge at a running pace ; and, when there was but half a stadium between them, the mercenary troops that Herippidas commanded rushed forth from the main body of Agesilaus to charge the enemy. 11. These troops consisted of those who had marched with him from home, some from the army of Cyrus, and the rest Ionians and Æolians, and the Hellespontines bordering on them.[3] All these rushed in a mass to the charge, and, attacking the enemy at the point of the spear, routed all that was opposed to them. The Argives, however, did not wait for the charge of Agesilaus and his troops, but fled towards Helicon. Here some of the mercenaries were proceeding to crown Agesilaus as conqueror, but some one brought him word that the Thebans, having cut their way through the

[1] *Quin et animos eorum tantâ impleverat elatione, ut ad pugnandum adversus quoscunque opus foret idonei essent.* Dindorf.

[2] Ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων.] Τοιούτων, observes Breitenbach, is of the neuter gender, and signifies *propter eas res.*

[3] Ἐχόμενοι.] *Vicini.* The people on the shores of the Hellespont bordering on Æolia. *Breitenbach.*

Orchomenians, were among the baggage, when he immediately drew out his main body in line and led it against them; but the Thebans on their side, when they caught sight of their allies who had fled towards Helicon, were desirous to make a way through the enemy to join their friends, and began to march forward with great spirit. 12. On this occasion we may say, without dispute, that Agesilaus proved himself a brave man; yet he did not choose the safest mode of proceeding; for when he might have let those who were trying to escape pass by him, and then have pursued and harassed their rear, he did not adopt that course, but closed with the Thebans full in front; and both parties, clashing their shields together, alternately gave way and resisted, slew and were slain. There was no outcry, however, nor was there altogether silence, but such a sound as rage and strife would produce. At length part of the Thebans made a way through the enemy to Mount Helicon, but a great number of them were cut off in their retreat. 13. But when the victory was fairly in the hands of Agesilaus, and he himself was brought in wounded to the main body, some of the cavalry rode up and told him that eighty of the enemy were in arms under shelter of the temple,[1] and asked him how they ought to act with regard to them; but he, although he had many wounds all over his body, and from every kind of weapon, was nevertheless not unmindful of the obligations of religion, but gave orders to let them depart whithersoever they pleased, and forbade his men to do them any injury; he also directed the horse-soldiers that were about him to escort them until they reached a place of safety.

14. But when the fight was over, a spectator might have seen, where they engaged with one another, the ground crimsoned with blood, the dead bodies of friends and enemies lying close to one another, shields broken to pieces, spears snapped asunder, daggers without their sheaths, some on the ground, others sticking in bodies, and others still in the hands of the dead. 15. For the present, then, as it was now late, they dragged together the dead bodies [of the enemies] within the camp,[2] took their supper, and went to rest. In the morn-

[1] The temple of Minerva Itonia. Plutarch, Ages. c. 19; Pausan. ix. 34.

[2] *Συνελκύσαντες τοὺς [τῶν πολεμίων] νεκροὺς εἴσω φαλαγγος. κ. τ. λ.*] Thus stands the text in Dindorf's edition. Schneider's, and the earlier

ing he ordered Gylos, the polemarch,[1] to draw up the army and to raise a trophy; directing, at the same time, that all the men should wear chaplets in honour of the god,[2] and that all the flute-players should play on their instruments. 16. These orders they executed; and the Thebans sent a herald, desiring leave, under favour of a truce, to bury their dead. A truce was accordingly made, and Agesilaus commenced his march homewards, choosing, instead of being the most powerful man in Asia, to govern and to be governed at home in accordance with the laws.

17. But after this, perceiving that the Argives were enjoying the state of their affairs at home, had attached Corinth[3] to their territory, and were delighted at the war, he undertakes an expedition against them; and having laid waste all their territory, he straightway crosses over from thence by the narrow passes[4] to Corinth, and makes himself master of the walls, which stretched as far as Lechæum. Having thus opened the gates of the Peloponnesus, he went home to the Hyacinthian festival,[5] and joined in chanting the pæan to the god[6] in the place where he was stationed by the choragus.

editions, have *τῶν πολεμίων* without brackets, but Schneider thought *τῶν πολεμίων* spurious. Weiske proposed to read *ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων*, which Breitenbach has adopted, as it is supported by what is said in sect. 14, that the dead bodies of friends and enemies were mingled, and by Polyænus, ii. 1. 23; where Agesilaus is represented as desirous to separate the dead bodies of the Spartans from those of the enemy, and to cover them with earth. That *φαλαγξ* is here used in the sense of "camp" is admitted by all the commentators, who refer to Xen. Rep. Lac. c. 12, sect. 3, and Plutarch, Ages. c. 19.

[1] He seems to have been commander of the *mora* mentioned in sect. 6. That the commanders of *moræ* were called polemarchs at Sparta appears from Herodot. vii. 173; Xen. Hell. iv. 4. 7; Rep. Lac. c. 11, sect. 4. See Müller's Dorians, iii. 12. 4.

[2] Apollo, to whom the song of victory used to be sung: the victory was gained near the temple of Delphi. *Baumgarten.*

[3] Concerning the Corinthian war, which took place B. C. 393, see Hellen. iv. 4; Plutarch, Ages. c. 21. *Breitenbach.*

[4] *Κατὰ τὰ στενά.*] If the reading, *κατὰ Τενίαν*, is correct in Hellen. iv. 4. 19, the pass which is called by Pausanias (ii. 5. 3) *πύλη Τενεατική* appears to be here meant. *Breitenbach.*

[5] A festival celebrated yearly at Sparta in the month Hecatombæon, in honour of Apollo and Hyacinthus, who was accidentally killed by Apollo with a discus.

[6] Apollo.

18. After this, having learned that the Corinthians were keeping all their cattle in the Peiræum, [and that they were sowing all the Peiræum and reaping corn from it,[1]] and thinking it a matter demanding attention that the Bœotians, issuing from Creusis[2] by this way, easily united themselves with the Corinthians, he leads his forces against the Peiræum. But seeing that it was defended by a number of troops, he marched off, after dinner, towards the city, as if he thought that the city would be surrendered to him.[3] 19. But perceiving, towards night, that the people had gone with their whole force from the Peiræum to the city to succour it, he turned back at daybreak, and finding the Peiræum left without a guard, captured it, and made himself master, not only of the other things that were in it, but also of the walls which had been built there. Having achieved this exploit, he returned home.

20. Soon afterwards, the Achæans being eager to join in the alliance with him, and entreating him to march with them into Acarnania,[4] and the Acarnanians having also fallen upon his troops in a defile, he, having taken possession with his light troops of the cliffs above their heads, joined battle; and having killed a great number of them, raised a trophy, and did not relax his exertions until he made the Acarnanians and Ætolians and Argives friends to the Achæans, and allies to himself. 21. But when the enemy, being desirous of peace, sent an embassy, Agesilaus opposed the peace,[5] until he had compelled

[1] The original of the words in brackets was absent from most editions before that of Schneider. They occur in two manuscripts. Dindorf has struck them out of his text. Their soundness is very doubtful. Peiræum was a harbour of Corinth; see note on the translation of Xenophon's Hellenica, iv. 5. 1. How there could be land within it for sowing is not very easy to be conjectured. Perhaps the name has usurped the place of some other in the text.

[2] A small town on the Corinthian Gulf. Pausan. ix. 32.

[3] The stratagem of Agesilaus consisted in marching with a rather small force, as it appears, against a city so strongly fortified; exciting by that means in the minds of the people a suspicion that they were in danger of being betrayed by a party within the place, and causing the garrison to be withdrawn from the Peiræum, in consequence, for the defence of the city, when the Peiræum became an easy conquest to him. *Weiske.*

[4] The Achæans, who at that time held Calydon, a city of Acarnania, were in consequence attacked by the Acarnanians. *Breitenbach.*

[5] The peace of Antalcidas, made B.C. 387. Xen. Hellen. v. 1. 32. *Breitenbach.*

the cities to receive home again such of the Corinthians and Thebans as were in exile on account of having favoured the Lacedæmonians.[1] He afterwards restored also such of the Phliasians as were in exile for the sake of the Lacedæmonians, taking the field in person against Phlius.[2] 22. If any one censures him for these proceedings on any other account,[3] it is yet quite evident that they sprung from motives of friendship; for when the enemy had put to death such of the Lacedæmonians as were in Thebes,[4] he marched against Thebes to their relief; but finding every place fortified with trenches and ramparts, he crossed over the heights of Cynoscephalæ, and laid waste the lands as far as the city, giving the Thebans an opportunity of fighting if they wished, both in the plains and on the hills. In the following year also he marched a second time against Thebes, and crossing the ramparts and trenches at Scolus,[5] laid waste the rest of Bœotia.

23. Down to this time both he himself and the state were fortunate in common. Whatever failures, however, occurred afterwards, no one can say that they happened under the generalship of Agesilaus.[6] But after that the disaster at Leuctra had taken place, when the enemy, in conjunction with the Mantinæans, were putting to death his friends and allies in Tegea, (the Bœotians and Arcadians and Eleans having all united themselves together,) he took the field with the forces of the Lacedæmonians only,[7] though many thought that the Lace-

[1] Διὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους.] *Propter studium Lacedæmoniorum.* Breitenbach.

[2] Matters had been settled in favour of the exiles from Phlius without war, as is related by Xenophon, Hellen. v. 2. 8—10. But as the Phliasians did not adhere to their promises, or pay what they owed to the exiles, Agesilaus attacked their city, B. C. 383. Hellen. v. 3. 10. *Heiland.*

[3] He alludes to the censure for pride and presumption which the Lacedæmonians had incurred by the reduction of so many states. Diod. Sic. XV. 19. *Breitenbach.*

[4] Archias, and those who had joined with him in seizing on the Cadmeia. Xen. Hellen. v. 4. 13.

[5] A town of Bœotia between Cithæron and Tegyra. Pausan. ix. 4. *Breitenbach.*

[6] For Agesilaus was ill during the whole of the following year. Xen. Hellen. vi. 5. 4. *Schneider.*

[7] Σὺν μόνῃ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων δυνάμει.] This is the reading adopted from Victorius by Dindorf and Breitenbach. Schneider and other editors read σὺν μόρᾳ, omitting τῇ δυνάμει.

dæmonians would not even come out of their own country for some time. Having ravaged the lands of those who had put to death his friends, he then returned home again.

24. After this, also, when the Arcadians, and Argives, and Eleans, and Bœotians, had all taken the field against Lacedæmon,[1] and with them the Phocians and both the Locrians,[2] as well as the Thessalians, Ænianes, Acarnanians, and Eubœans, and when, in addition to this, the slaves and many of the neighbouring cities had revolted, while no less a number of the Spartans themselves had been killed in the battle at Leuctra than had survived, he nevertheless preserved the city, even though it was without walls, not leading out his troops to a place where the enemy would in every way have had the advantage, but drawing them up strongly where his countrymen would be likely to have the superiority, thinking that if he were to go out to the open plains, he would be surrounded on all sides, but that, remaining in confined and elevated spots, he would be in every way superior. 25. When, again, the army of the enemy withdrew, how can any one say that he conducted himself otherwise than prudently? For when old age prevented him from serving either on foot or on horseback, and he saw that his country needed funds if it intended to have any ally, he devoted himself to the task of supplying it with funds; whatever he could do while remaining at home, he contrived to accomplish; and he did not shrink from going from home on whatever business the exigencies of the time required, nor was he ashamed, when he seemed likely to benefit his country, to go out as an ambassador instead of a general.

26. Yet even in his embassy he performed the actions of a great general; for Autophradates,[3] who was besieging Ariobarzanes, an ally of Agesilaus, in Assus,[4] betook himself, through fear of Agesilaus, to flight; and Cotys, too, who was

[1] This was the first expedition of Epaminondas into the Peloponnesus, B. C. 369. *Breitenbach.*

[2] See note on sect. 6.

[3] Satrap of Lydia, whom the king of Persia had commissioned to take vengeance on those who had revolted from him. C. Nep. Datam. c. 2. *Breitenbach.* To this embassy of Agesilaus into Asia I find no allusion anywhere else. Of his expedition into Egypt to support Tachus all writers speak. *Schneider.*

[4] A city of Mysia. Ariobarzanes was satrap of Phrygia, Cotys of

besieging Sestus, which was still in the power of Ariobarzanes, broke up the siege and marched away. It was not without reason, therefore, that a trophy over the enemy was erected to him, on account of his conduct in the embassy. Mausolus, too, when he was besieging both these places by sea with a hundred vessels, sailed off home, not like the others,[1] through fear, but from being persuaded by Agesilaus. 27. He here indeed performed actions truly worthy of admiration;[2] for both those who thought that they had been benefited by him, and those who had fled before him, gave him money; while Tachus and Mausolus (who had also contributed money to Lacedæmon on account of his former friendship with Agesilaus) sent him home with a magnificent escort.

28. He was now about eighty years old; but having learned that the king of the Egyptians[3] was anxious to go to war with the king of Persia, and had a vast army of infantry and cavalry, and abundant resources, he heard with pleasure that he had sent for him, promising also to make him general; 29. for he designed in the same expedition to repay the Egyptian for the benefits which he had conferred on Lacedæmon,[4] to liberate a second time the Greeks in Asia, and to take vengeance on the Persian, both for what he had done before, and because that now, while saying that he was their ally, he ordered them to relinquish Messene.[5] 30. But when the king who had sent for him did not give him the generalship, Agesilaus, as having been greatly deceived, considered what

Paphlagonia, Mausolus of Caria. *Breitenbach.* Ariobarzanes was an ally of Agesilaus, having revolted from the king of Persia. *Schneider.*

[1] Οὐκέτι.] *Non item.* Breitenbach.

[2] Κἀνταῦθα οὖν ἄξια θαύματος διεπράξατο.] Such is the reading adopted by Dindorf. Schneider has only the three last words. Breitenbach reads ἃ γε ἄξια, κ. τ. λ.

[3] Tachus, who is mentioned just above. *Breitenbach.*

[4] Schneider supposes that this refers to the money mentioned in sect. 27. In what year the money was given, says Breitenbach, we cannot decide. He observes that Xenophon speaks but briefly, and to us obscurely, of the affair of Tachus, because it was well known to his readers in that day, having occurred only about two years before he wrote.

[5] The peace of Antalcidas, as it is called, had put the states of Asia under the power of the Persians, but had set free Messene, which had before been subject to Lacedæmon; and hence the hostility of the Spartans towards the king of Persia. See Diodor. Sic. xv. 90; Plutarch in Ages. *Schneider.*

he ought to do. Soon after, however, the Egyptians, who were serving apart,[1] revolted from the king, being the first to do so; and then all the rest deserted him; and Tachus himself, in alarm, fled to Sidon in Phœnicia; while the Egyptians, splitting into factions, elected two kings.[2] 31. Upon this Agesilaus, knowing that if he should join neither party, neither would furnish pay for the Grecian soldiers, nor would either offer him provisions for sale, while whichsoever proved victorious would be his enemy, but that if he should join one of the two, that one at least, receiving assistance from him, would, as was probable, be his friend, and having accordingly formed his opinion as to which of the two seemed best disposed towards the Greeks, took the field with him, and defeating in battle the one that was hostile to the Grecks, utterly reduced him; the other he assisted in establishing on the throne.[3] Having thus made the latter a friend to Lacedæmon, and having received a large sum of money from him, he set sail homewards, though it was the middle of winter, being anxious that his country should not be inactive against the enemy in the following summer.

CHAPTER III.

The piety of Agesilaus. His strict regard to honour in all his transactions.

1. The actions of Agesilaus which have been mentioned were such as were done before many witnesses of his conduct. Such acts, indeed, do not require proofs; it is sufficient merely to recall them to the memory, and they are at once credited. But now I will endeavour to set forth the virtue that was in his mind, under the influence of which he did these things, and loved everything that was good, and repelled everything that was dishonourable. 2. For he paid such respect

[1] Οἱ δίχα στρατευόμενοι.] Those who were under the command of Nectanebus. Diod. Sic. xv. 92; Plutarch, Ages. c. 37.

[2] Nectanebus and Mendesius.

[3] He took the side of Nectanebus in opposition to Mendesius. Plut. Ages. c. 37; Diod. Sic. xv. 92.

to what was divine, that even his enemies considered his oaths and compacts more worthy of trust than the friendship existing among themselves; [since in making covenants among themselves],[1] they were afraid to meet one another, but they put themselves wholly into the hands of Agesilaus; and that no one may disbelieve me, I shall mention the most remarkable among those who did so.

3. Spithridates the Persian, knowing that Pharnabazus was intriguing to marry the daughter of the king, but wished to take his own daughter without marrying her, and considering this an insult, placed himself, his wife, his children, and his troops,[2] in the hands of Agesilaus. 4. Cotys,[3] too, the satrap of the Paphlagonians, would not comply with the wishes of the king, though he sent him his pledge of the right hand, fearing lest he should be made prisoner, and either have to pay a large sum of money for his ransom, or be put to death; yet he, trusting to a treaty with Agesilaus, not only came to his camp, but, forming an alliance with Agesilaus, preferred to take the field with him, with a thousand horse, and two thousand targeteers. 5. Pharnabazus[4] also came to a conference with Agesilaus, and stated freely in their conversation that, unless he himself was appointed commander of the whole Persian army, he would revolt from the king. "If, however," says he, "I am made commander, I will fight with thee, O Agesilaus, as vigorously as I may be able." In saying this, he felt convinced that he should suffer nothing contrary to the terms of the truce. So important and honourable a quality is it in all other men, and especially in a commander, to be honest and trustworthy, and to be known to be so. Such observations I had to make with respect to his piety.

[1] Οἱ *συντιθέμενοι ἀλλήλοις.*] These words are inserted by Breitenbach in his text from a conjecture of Schneider's. In other texts there is a hiatus.

[2] He is mentioned in the Hellenica, iii. 5. 16, as having about two hundred cavalry; what is said in iv. 1. 7, seems to indicate a larger force. *Schneider.*

[3] The same that is mentioned in c. 2, sect. 26. He is called Otys by Xenophon, Hellen. iv. 1, Θῦος by Ælian, Var. Hist. i. 27, and Thyus by Corn. Nep. Datam. c. 2.

[4] Xen. Hellen. iv. 1. 29—38. Plutarch, Ages. c. 12.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the integrity shown by Agesilaus as a private individual, as a king, and as a general. Two examples of it.

1. Or his integrity in regard to money also, what greater proofs can any one have than the following? For no one ever complained[1] that he was despoiled of anything by Agesilaus; but many acknowledged that they had received many acts of kindness from him. How could a man, indeed, to whom it is a pleasure to give his own property away for the benefit of mankind, wish to deprive others of their property, in order merely to incur ill repute? If he desired money, it would be far less troublesome to him to keep his own than to take what did not belong to him. 2. Or how could a man who would not even withhold favours, for which there are no actions at law against him who withholds them, wish to take away from others even what the law forbids? But Agesilaus not only considered that not to return favours was unjust, but even that not to return them in greater measure, if the recipient were able, was unjust. 3. Or how could any one fairly accuse him of embezzling the finances of the state, who made over to his country, for its benefit, the presents intended for himself? Or is it not also a great proof of self-command in regard to money, that whenever he wished to benefit the state or his friends by pecuniary gifts, he was able to assist them by obtaining contributions from others?[2] 4. For if he had been in the habit of selling his favours, or of doing good for the sake of reward, no one would have considered that he owed anything to him; but those who have received benefits gratuitously, always gladly serve their benefactor, both because they have received favours and because they have been

[1] *Ἐνεκάλεσεν.*] The verb ἐγκαλεῖν, without a dative of the person, i. e. signifying "to complain," is but rarely found. One other example of it is given by Xenophon, Hellen. vi. 1. 13, *μηδὲν ἔχοντας ἐγκαλεῖν. Breitenbach.*

[2] This was a proof of the liberality of Agesilaus, for he to whom others are at any time ready to be liberal must previously have been liberal to them. *Breitenbach.*

trusted at first as being worthy to keep a deposit of gratitude.[1] 5. Or must he not have quite shrunk from disgraceful gains, who preferred having a little with honour to having more with injustice? Agesilaus, then, being pronounced by the state to be entitled to all the property of Agis, transferred the half of it to his relatives on the mother's side, because he saw that they were in want. That this account is true, the whole community of the Lacedæmonians is a witness. 6. When Tithraustes,[2] too, offered him a vast number of presents, if he would retire from his province, Agesilaus replied, "It is an opinion among us, Tithraustes, that it is more honourable for a commander to enrich his army than himself, and to endeavour to gain spoils from his enemies rather than presents."

CHAPTER V.

The moderation of Agesilaus in eating, drinking, and sleep. His endurance of heat, cold, and fatigue. His self-command.

1. HOWEVER many pleasures there are, too, that master a large portion of mankind, by which of them has any one known Agesilaus to be mastered, a man who thought that he should abstain from intoxication as from madness, and from immoderate eating as from utter indolence?[3] Accordingly, when he received a double portion[4] at the public meals, he not only did not consume both portions, but, distributing them around, left neither for himself; considering that this double portion was given to him as king, not for the purpose of indulging his appetite, but that he might be able to honour with

[1] *Παρακαταθήκην χάριτος.*] Favours are said to be deposited with him who receives them, when the person who gives them expects at some time to receive a return. *Breitenbach.*

[2] See c. 1, sect. 35; Hellen. iii. 4. 25.

[3] *Ἀργίας.*] The texts of Weiske and Schneider, and many others, have *ἁμαρτίας*. Henry Stephens proposed *ἀργίας*, which Dindorf and Breitenbach have very judiciously adopted; as indolence and inactivity are the consequences of immoderate eating.

[4] "Lycurgus honoured the kings with a double portion at the public meals, not that they might eat twice as much as others, but that they might have something to give to any one whom they desired to honour." De Rep. Lac. c. 15.

it whomsoever he pleased. 2. He had recourse to sleep, not as to a master, but as to that which was under the control of circumstances; and unless he had the worst couch of all the people that were with him, he gave manifest indications of shame; for he thought that it became a prince to surpass private persons, not in effeminacy, but in endurance. 3. He was not, however, ashamed of having a greater share of heat in the summer and of cold in the winter. If it ever happened, also, to his army to endure hardships, he willingly toiled more than others; thinking that all such exertions were a solace to his soldiers. To say all in a word, Agesilaus took delight in toil, but allowed indolence no influence over him.

4. As to his continence in matters of love, is it not right to mention it, if for no other reason, yet for the wonder of it? To abstain, indeed, from that which one does not desire, any one would say was agreeable to human nature; but that being enamoured of Megabates,[1] the son of Spithridates, as a most ardent temperament would be enamoured of a most beautiful object, he should, when (as it was a custom among the Persians to kiss those whom they esteem) Megabates attempted to kiss Agesilaus, have striven with all his might to prevent himself from being kissed by him, is not this an instance of continence even of the most noble kind?[2]

5. But when Megabates no longer attempted to kiss him, as if thinking himself to be dishonoured, Agesilaus gave instructions to one of his companions to persuade Megabates to honour him again. But as his companion asked him, whether, if Megabates could be persuaded, he would kiss him, Agesilaus accordingly, after keeping silence a long time, spoke thus: "Not even if I were immediately to become the most beautiful, and strongest, and swiftest of men;[3] I indeed swear by all the gods that I would rather prefer to fight again the same battle, than that everything which I see should be-

[1] This is related by Plutarch, Ages. c. 11; De Aud. Poet. 10; Apophth. Lac. p. 101.

[2] *Αἰαν γεννικόν.*] *Γεννικὸν* is the conjecture of Schæfer. Before his time the reading was *μανικόν*, which critics tried to interpret without much success.

[3] It is to be remembered that Agesilaus was short of stature, lame of one foot, and of no very dignified appearance. Corn. Nep. Ages. c. 8; Plutarch, Ages. c. 2.

come gold for me."[1] 6. I am not, however, ignorant of what some people think concerning these matters;[2] I am indeed well aware that far more men can conquer their enemies than can control passions of such a nature; and if but few knew these things, it would be very well for many to disbelieve them; but we all know that the most illustrious of men least escape notice in what they do. But no man has ever said that he saw Agesilaus indulging in anything of this sort, nor, if he had asserted it on conjecture, would he have been thought to say what was worthy of credit. 7. For he took up his abode in no house by himself, when away from home, but was always in some temple,[3] where it is impossible to do things of this kind, or before the public, making the eyes of all men witnesses of his continence. But if I speak falsely as to these things, Greece knowing the contrary, I abstain from all praise of Agesilaus, and take blame to myself.

CHAPTER VI.

The merits of Agesilaus as a leader, and his readiness to meet his enemies in the field, either in Greece or in other countries. His judgment and prudence. His anxiety to protect his friends and defeat his enemies, and the effects of it on those who were concerned with him.

1. Of his valour also he appears to me to have exhibited proofs by no means obscure, undertaking always to carry on war with the most powerful of the enemies both of his country and of Greece, and placing himself first in the contests against them. 2. Wherever the enemy wished to engage with him in battle, he did not secure the victory by making them flee with terror, but raised a trophy by defeating them in a fairly fought field,[4] leaving immortal monuments of his valour, and bearing

[1] In allusion to the fable of Midas.

[2] Καὶ ὅτι μὲν δὴ λαμβάνουσί τινες ταῦτα.] *Atque non ignoro equidem quid aliqui de his rebus existiment.* Dindorf. Xenophon intimates that some people do not think this conduct of Agesilaus so much deserving of praise as he himself thinks it.

[3] So Plutarch, Ages. c. 4.

[4] Μάχῃ ἀντιτύπῳ.] The forces of the Spartans were not in general superior to those of their enemies; μάχη ἀντίτυπος is therefore a battle in which both sides fought with equal numbers. *Breitenbach.*

off with him plain proofs[1] that he had fought with spirit; so that men might form an opinion of his courage, not from hearing of it, but by witnessing it. 3. It is right therefore to consider that the trophies of Agesilaus were not merely such as he actually raised, but whatever campaigns he commanded in; for he did not the less gain a victory because his enemies were unwilling to fight with him, but gained it with less danger and more advantage both to the state and to the allies; and even in the public games they crown those who obtain a victory without a contest, no less than those who gain it by fighting.

4. As to his wisdom, again, what actions of his do not display it? when he so conducted himself towards his country, that, obeying it to the utmost,[2] .... and being zealous for the interests of those associated with him, he acquired friends who never made excuses for not serving him, and rendered his soldiers also obedient and attached to him. How indeed can a battalion become more strong than by being well disciplined through obeying orders, and by supporting their general faithfully through attachment to his person? 5. He had enemies, it is true, who, though they could not find fault with him, yet felt obliged to hate him; for he was always contriving means that his allies might have the advantage over them, deceiving when there was an opportunity, anticipating when expedition was necessary, and concealing his movements from them when it was advantageous to do so, and pursuing towards his enemies a quite contrary course of conduct to that which he adopted towards his friends. 6. He used night as day, and day as night, often rendering it uncertain both where he was, and whither he was going, and what he intended to do; so that he made even strong places unsafe for his enemies; sometimes avoiding them, sometimes outstripping them, sometimes surprising them. 7. When he was on the march, however, and knew that the enemy had the liberty of fighting if they wished, he led his army drawn up in such order that he was in the best possible condition to defend himself, and

[1] Wounds on the front part of his body. *Breitenbach.*

[2] Some words are lost here. By a reference to Plutarch, Ages. c. 4, Weiske infers that what is wanting is something to this effect: *ἴσχυε πλεῖστον, ὥστε ποιεῖν ὁ βούλοιτο*, "by obeying his country to the utmost he obtained the greatest influence in it."

marched at as quiet a pace as the most modest virgin would walk;[1] thinking that in such order there was firmness, and the least possible exposure to alarm or confusion, as well as the greatest security against mistakes and ambuscades. 8. While acting thus, therefore, he was an object of terror to his enemies, but inspired courage and confidence into his friends; so that he continued uncontemned by his adversaries, uncensured by his fellow citizens, approved by his friends, and extremely beloved and commended by all mankind.

CHAPTER VII.

Patriotism of Agesilaus. His obedience to the laws of Sparta, and paternal care of his subjects. His concern for the general interests of Greece. His hostility to Persia.

1. THAT he was a lover of his country, it would be tedious to show by every particular proof; for I think, indeed, that there was nothing of all that was done by him, that did not tend to the service of it. But to speak briefly, we all know that Agesilaus, whenever he thought that he should benefit his country, did not shrink from toils, or stand aloof from dangers, or spare money, or make his person or old age an excuse for inaction; but he considered it the duty of a good king to do as much good as possible to his subjects. 2. I account this also among his greatest services to his country, that while he was the most powerful man in the state, he proved himself the most obedient to the laws; for who would be inclined to disobey the laws, when he saw the king obeying them? Or who, from thinking himself in too humble a condition, would attempt to raise a revolution, when he saw the king enduring even to be commanded in compliance with the laws. 3. He even conducted himself towards those who differed from him in political affairs, as a father towards his children; for he reproved them for their faults, but honoured them if they did anything praiseworthy, and stood by them if any calamity happened to

[1] Compare c. 2, sect. 3. Also De Rep. Lac. c. 3, sect. 5.

them; regarding no one of his countrymen as an enemy, but wishing to commend all; thinking it a gain that all should be preserved, and esteeming it as a loss, if any one, though worth but little, was cut off; but if they observed a quiet adherence to the laws, he evidently thought that his country would always be happy, and that when the Greeks conducted themselves wisely, it would be strong. 4. If, moreover, it is honourable that one who is a Greek should be a lover of the Greeks, what other commander has any one seen, either showing reluctance to take a city, when he thought he could plunder it, or regarding a victory, in a war with the Greeks, as a calamity? 5. But Agesilaus, when news was brought him that in the battle at Corinth [1] eight Lacedæmonians, and nearly ten thousand of the enemy, were killed, showed himself by no means delighted, but exclaimed, "Alas for Greece! since those who have now died would be able, if living, to defeat all the barbarians in the field of battle." [2] 6. But when the Corinthian exiles said that the city would be surrendered to them, and showed him the machines with which they all expected to take the walls, he refused to make an attack upon it, saying, that it was proper to reduce the cities of Greece, not to slavery, but to their senses. "But if," added he, "we cut off all that do wrong from among us, we must take care lest we have none left to conquer the barbarians." [3] 7. If, again, it is honourable to be a hater of the Persians, because their former king led out an army for the purpose of enslaving Greece, and the present king [4] forms alliances with those by whose assistance he thinks that he shall do it greater injury, sends presents to those whom he thinks likely, on receiving them, to inflict the most harm on the Greeks, and assists in making any peace through which he thinks that we shall most be led to war with one another,—all men, indeed, see this,—but what other person, except Agesilaus, ever made it his care, either that any nation should revolt from the Persian king, or that one which had revolted should not be cut off, or, in general, that the king of Persia, though suffering calamities himself, should not he able to cause annoyance to the Greeks? Agesilaus, even when his country was at war

[1] Xen. Hellen. iv. 2. 9—23. [2] C. Nep. Ages. c. 5.
[3] C. Nep. Ages. c. 6. [4] Artaxerxes II.

with the Greeks, nevertheless did not neglect the common good of Greece, but sailed from home with the view of doing whatever injury he could to the barbarians.

CHAPTER VIII.

Modesty, affability, and cheerfulness of Agesilaus, which rendered his society agreeable to those around him. His kingly spirit, and contempt of the riches and ostentation of the Persians.

1. It is proper, also, not to omit to notice his sweetness of temper; since while honour was conferred on him, and power attended him, (and, in addition to these, the dignity of a throne, a throne which was not assailed by conspiracies, but regarded with acquiescence,) no one could ever see any signs of haughtiness in him, but could perceive, even without looking for it, a disposition to love and serve his friends. 2. He took a share, too, with the greatest pleasure, in sportive conversation,[1] but he discoursed seriously with his friends[2] on whatever subject it was necessary to do so. As he was full of hope and good spirits, and always cheerful, he caused many to seek his society, not merely for the sake of effecting some object by his means, but also for the sake of spending the day pleasantly. Though he was by no means of a temper for boasting, he nevertheless listened without displeasure to those who praised themselves, thinking that they did no harm, but bade fair to become deserving men.

3. I must not omit to observe, however, how aptly, on one

[1] Παιδικῶν λόγων.] The love of youths at Sparta is well known, and was most honourable; for those who were enamoured strove to do the greatest service and pleasure to the beloved object, as is said by Plutarch, Lyc. c. 20, who also relates that Agesilaus was thus beloved by Lysander, Ages. c. 2. Παιδικοὶ λόγοι would accordingly be such conversation as could pass between persons thus fond of one another, and would doubtless be sportive and jocular; but I cannot agree with those who think that mere pleasant discourse, such as might occur between any two friends, is meant, for Xenophon's use of the word παιδικὸς is adverse to such a supposition. Comp. Cyrop. i. 4. 27; Hellen. v. 3. 20; Œcon. ii. 7. *Breitenbach.*

[2] Συνεσπούδαζε.] *Una cum amicis seria loquebatur.* Breitenbach.

occasion, he displayed his magnanimity; for when a letter reached him from the king of Persia, (which the Persian who was with Callias[1] the Lacedæmonian brought,) about forming a connexion of hospitality and friendship with him, he would not receive it, but desired him who brought it to tell the king, that it was by no means requisite to send letters to him individually, but that if he showed himself a friend to Lacedæmon and well disposed towards Greece, he would himself become his friend to the utmost of his power; "if, however," added he, "he is found forming designs against it, let him not think, even if I receive a great number of letters from him, that he will have me for a friend." 4. I accordingly commend this conduct of Agesilaus, that, to gratify the Greeks, he rejected the friendship of the king. I admire also this feeling in him, that he did not think that that sovereign of the two who had the greater riches, and ruled over the greater number of men, ought to think more highly of himself, but whichsoever was personally more deserving, and ruled over subjects of a better character.

5. I commend likewise this proof of his forethought, that, considering it good for Greece that as many satraps as possible should revolt from the king, he was not induced either by the presents or by the power of the king to feel any inclination to form an alliance with him, but guarded against being distrusted by those who were disposed to revolt. 6. Who, moreover, would not admire such conduct as the following in him? For the Persian king, thinking that if he had the superiority in resources he would be able to bring everything under his power, endeavoured for this reason to get into his hands all the gold, all the silver, and all the most valuable things in the world; but Agesilaus, on the other hand, so managed his household[2] as to require none of these things. 7. If any one disbelieves this, let him see what kind of house contented him, and let him contemplate its doors; for he would imagine that they were still those selfsame doors which

[1] Perhaps the same Callias that is mentioned Hellen. iv. 1. 15; nothing more is known of him. See Apophth. Lac., and Ælian, V. H. x. 20.

[2] *Ἀντεσκεύασατο.*] This verb, which is nowhere else found, signifies that Agesilaus furnished his own residence in a way quite opposite to that of the king of Persia. *Breitenbach.*

Aristodemus,[1] a descendant of Hercules, took when he returned from exile and set up.[2] Let him also try to get a view of the furniture within; let him consider how he feasted at the public sacrifices; and let him hear how his daughter went down to Amyclæ[3] upon a public carriage made of reeds.[4] Thus adapting, accordingly, his expenses to his income, he was not compelled to do anything unjust for the sake of gain. It is thought honourable to have walls that cannot be taken by an enemy; but I think it much more honourable for a man to render his mind unassailable alike by wealth, by pleasures, and by terror.

CHAPTER IX.

His mode of life quite different from that of the king of Persia. He aims at higher objects of distinction than victories in chariot-races.

1. I WILL also relate how in his private manners he formed a contrast to the ostentation of the Persian king;[5] for, in the first place, the Persian prided himself on being seldom seen; but Agesilaus delighted in being always visible, thinking that to keep out of sight was suitable to dishonourable acts, but that the light rather gave lustre to a life in conformity with what was honourable.[6] 2. In the second place, the one boasted of being difficult of access, whilst the other delighted in being

[1] The great-great-grandson of Hyllus the son of Hercules, and father of Eurysthenes and Procles, from whom the Spartan kings were descended. *Breitenbach.*

[2] Took and set up, without adding any ornament to what he found. *Breitenbach.*

[3] To celebrate the Hyacinthia. See ii. 17.

[4] Ἐπὶ πολιτικοῦ κανάθρου.] Κάναθρον was a kind of fanciful-shaped carriage, of which the body was made of reeds; the derivation being from κάννα, a reed, as is supposed. See Plut. Ages. c. 19. Compare also Ovid, Fast. vi. 680; Justin, xliii. 4. By πολιτικὸν κάναθρον Breitenbach understands a carriage for the common use of the citizens in processions or other public occasions.

[5] Ὡς καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὑπεστήσατο, κ. τ. λ.] *Quomodo mores suos Persæ fastui opposuerit.* Comp. c. 8, sect. 6. *Breitenbach.*

[6] Τῷ δὲ εἰς κόλλος βίῳ.] *Vitæ ad honestatem moderatæ.* Breitenbach.

accessible to all; and the one prided himself in bringing matters to an end slowly, while the other was most rejoiced when he sent away people most speedily after obtaining from him what they sought. 3. It is worth mentioning, too, how much easier and readier enjoyment Agesilaus secured; for the Persian king, people go round the whole earth seeking what he may drink with pleasure; innumerable persons are constantly inventing what he may eat with pleasure; and that he may sleep soundly, a person could scarcely enumerate in how many contrivances they busy themselves. But Agesilaus, from being fond of labour, drank with pleasure whatever chanced to be at hand, and ate with pleasure whatever came before him; while for enabling him to sleep contentedly, any place was suitable. 4. Nor was he only pleased with acting thus, but felt delight in reflecting that he himself dwelt in the midst of pleasures; while he saw that the barbarian, if he would live free from trouble, must collect together from the ends of the earth objects to please him. 5. It delighted him also, that he knew he was able to submit without uneasiness to the dispensations of the gods, whilst he saw the king avoiding the heat, and shrinking from the cold; imitating, through weakness of mind, the life, not of brave men, but of the most helpless animals. 6. How, also, can it be otherwise than honourable to him, and a proof of nobleness of mind, that he himself adorned his own house with the actions and possessions of a man, rearing numbers of dogs for hunting and horses for war, while he persuaded his sister Cynisca to breed chariot-horses, and thus showed, when she gained a victory, that the breeding of such animals was a proof, not of manly desert, but of wealth. 7. Did he not also show clearly, in conformity with the nobleness of his disposition, that if he conquered private persons in a chariot-race, he would not be at all more worthy of honour; but that if he regarded his country as the dearest of all objects, and acquired friends in the greatest number and of the highest merit through the whole earth, and surpassed other men in conferring benefits on his country and on his friends, and in taking vengeance on his enemies, he would, in reality, carry off the palm in contests of the most honourable and noble character, and would become most celebrated, both while living and when dead?

CHAPTER X.

The glory of Agesilaus was due, not to fortune, but to his own abilities and exertions. He is an example to all who would wish to deserve fame and honour. Happiness of his life and death.

1. It is for such merits, then, that I praise Agesilaus; for this conduct of his is not as if a man should meet with a treasure,[1] and should become indeed richer, but not more economical; or as if a man should conquer his enemies when disease has fallen on them, and should thus be more fortunate, but not at all more of a general; but he who was most distinguished for perseverance when it was a proper time for labour, and for the exertion of his bodily powers when there was emulation in manly activity, and for judgment when there was need of counsel, appears to me, assuredly, to be justly esteemed a man of truly eminent merit. 2. And if the line and rule are an excellent invention for men, to assist them in producing meritorious works, the virtue of Agesilaus would seem to me to furnish a good example for those who wish to pursue an honourable course of conduct. For who, while imitating a pious man, would become impious, or while imitating a just man, unjust, or while imitating a modest man, presumptuous, or while imitating a continent man, incontinent? Agesilaus, indeed, did not feel so much exalted in ruling others as in ruling himself; not so much in leading his fellow-citizens against their enemies, as in leading them to every kind of virtue. 3. Nor, because he is praised now that he is dead, let not any one for that reason consider this discourse as a lamentation, but much rather as a eulogium; for in the first place, that which he heard while he lived[2] is said concerning him now; and, in the second place, what has less call for lamentation than a life of glory and a death at mature age? or what is more deserving of eulogy than victories

[1] Agesilaus did not become great and famous by chance or good luck, as a man becomes rich by accidentally finding a treasure, or as a general gains a victory by attacking the enemy when weakened by disease, but gained all his distinction by virtuous and honourable exertion. *Breitenbach.*

[2] Namely, praise, not lamentation. *Breitenbach.*

of the greatest splendour and actions of the highest worth? 4. Justly may he be esteemed happy, who, feeling a desire of becoming distinguished even from his very childhood, succeeded in his object beyond all his contemporaries; who, being naturally a lover of glory, continued unconquered after he became king; and who, having reached the utmost limit of human life, died free from blame[1] alike in the judgment of those whom he commanded, and in that of those against whom he fought.

CHAPTER XI.

Various particulars respecting the character and acts of Agesilaus.

1. I WISH also to go over his merit again under particular heads,[2] that the praises of it may be more easily remembered. Agesilaus respected temples, even such as were situated in the territory of an enemy; thinking that it was proper to make the gods allies, not less in a hostile than in a friendly country. He offered no violence to suppliants at the altars of the gods, even though they were his enemies; thinking that it was absurd to call those who stole from temples sacrilegious, and to regard those who dragged suppliants from the altars of the gods as pious. 2. He never ceased declaring that he thought the gods were no less pleased with pious works than with pure sacrifices. When he was successful in any enterprise, he did not exult more than becomes human beings, but testified his gratitude to the gods; and when he was full of confidence,[3] he offered up more sacrifices than he made vows when he was under apprehension. He had accustomed himself also to appear cheerful when he was in fear, and, when he was fortunate, to assume a modest demeanour. 3. Of his friends he welcomed most heartily, not those who were most powerful, but those who were warmest in affection towards

[1] *Ἀναμάρτητος.*] Having done nothing to deserve censure; free from any gross fault or error.

[2] Concerning the contents of this chapter, see the "Remarks" prefixed.

[3] After having met with some success. *Breitenbach.*

him. He hated, not the man who defended himself when he received an injury, but him who, when he received a kindness, showed himself ungrateful. He delighted in seeing those who were greedy of dishonourable gains become poor, and in assisting the honest to become wealthy; wishing to make justice more profitable than injustice. 4. He made it his business to converse with all classes of men, but to form intimacies only with the good. When he heard men praise or blame others, he thought that he could learn the character of those speaking no less than that of those concerning whom they spoke. Those who were deceived by friends he did not blame, but those who were deceived by enemies he censured in the utmost degree; and he considered that to deceive those who distrusted was wise, but to deceive those who trusted, criminal. 5. He rejoiced at being praised by those who were ready to blame what did not please them; he disliked none of those who expressed their thoughts openly, but guarded against those who concealed their thoughts, as against snares. He hated slanderers more than thieves, considering it a greater loss to be deprived of friends than of money. 6. The errors of private persons he regarded with indulgence, but thought those of sovereigns of great consequence; considering that the former were the cause of few evils, the latter of many. He was of opinion, not that indolence, but that virtuous and honourable activity, was suitable to the dignity of a king. 7. He forbore from having a statue of himself erected, though many wished to make him a present of one; but he never ceased labouring to raise monuments of his mind; considering that the one was the business of artists, the other his own; the one that of the wealthy, the other that of the good.

8. He managed pecuniary matters, not merely with justice, but with liberality also, thinking that to abstain from other men's property was enough for a just man, but that a liberal-minded man ought to assist others even with his own resources. He lived always in awe of the gods, considering that those who live well are not yet happy, but that those who have died gloriously are already blessed.[1] 9. He thought it a greater calamity to neglect what was good knowingly, than ignorantly. He valued no glory, unless he gained by labour that

[1] In allusion to the saying of Solon to Crœsus, Herod. i. 34.

which constituted it;[1] and he appeared to me to regard virtue, in common with few other men, not as endurance, but as pleasure. He certainly rejoiced in being praised rather than in acquiring wealth. He exhibited his valour more in conjunction with prudence than with temerity; and he cultivated wisdom in deeds more than in words. 10. While he was most gentle to his friends, he was most terrible to his enemies; while he rivalled all in enduring toils, he gladly yielded the palm in exertion to his friends, loving handsome deeds more than handsome persons; and while he knew how to be moderate in prosperity, he could maintain a bold spirit in adversity. 11. He studied to please, not with jests, but in his general behaviour; and testified his magnanimity, not with haughtiness, but with judicious forbearance; while he contemned boasters, he was more humble than even the modest. He took a pride in the plainness of his own dress, and in the splendid equipments of his army, as well as in wanting as little as possible himself, and in conferring as many benefits as possible on his friends. 12. He was also most terrible as an opponent, but most gentle when he had conquered; hard to be deceived by enemies, but most easy to be prevailed upon by friends; and while he put the fortunes of his adherents in safety, he made it his constant business to weaken those of his adversaries. 13. His relations called him a lover of his family; his familiar friends, a friend free from evasion; and they who had done him any service, called him mindful; those who were wronged, a helper; those who were in dangers with him, a preserver next to the gods.

14. He seems to me also to be the only one of mankind that showed that vigour of body decays with age, but that vigour of mind in able men is free from decay. He himself, at least, never failed to aim at high and honourable distinction, even though the body could not support the exertion of the mind. 15. What kind of youth, accordingly, is there to which his old age did not show itself superior? for who in his maturity was so formidable to his enemies as Agesilaus was when he had reached the extreme boundary of life? or at whose removal did his enemies rejoice more than at that of Agesilaus, although he died an old man? or who inspired so much courage

[1] Ἧς οὐκ ἐξεπόνει τὰ ἴδια.] *Cujus quæ propria essent non labore ac studio acquireret.* Breitenbach.

into his allies as Agesilaus did, although he was now at the end of his career ?[1] or what young man did his friends regret more than Agesilaus, when he died at an extreme age ? 16. But he continued to be of such constant service to the state, that, even when dead, he was carried to his eternal home[2] while still munificently benefiting his country,[3] leaving memorials of his merit in every part of the earth, and obtaining the funeral of a king in his own land.

[1] Πρὸς τῷ στόματι τοῦ βίου.] "At the mouth of life," an expression applied to the termination of life, which is often compared to the course of a river. *Breitenbach.*

[2] A term borrowed from the Egyptians, who called the tombs of the dead ἀίδιοι οἶκοι. Diod. Sic. i. 51.

[3] In reference, as Schneider thinks, to the money that was brought to Sparta with the dead body of Agesilaus. See c. 2, sect. 31.

REMARKS ON THE HIERO.

THE visit of Simonides of Ceos to Hiero, at an advanced age, is related by Ælian, Var. Hist. ix. 1.

The Hiero here mentioned is not Hiero II., so much celebrated as the friend and ally of the Romans, but Hiero I., who began to reign B. C. 478. He succeeded his brother Gelon, whose government had been extremely mild and popular; that of Hiero was of a far more severe and despotic character. From the admonitions that Xenophon puts into the mouth of Simonides, it may be inferred that there was in Hiero's conduct towards his subjects, and in his ostentatious magnificence, much that was generally regarded with disapprobation. But from the praises bestowed on him by Pindar, and the attractions which his court presented, not only to him, but to Æschylus, Bacchylides, Epicharmus, Xenophanes, and other men of eminence, we may suppose that he had some considerable merits, not only as a patron, but as a man.

The voyage of Simonides to Syracuse is placed by Schneider in the year B. C. 471, the seventh year of Hiero's reign, when Simonides was more than eighty years old. Hiero died five years afterwards. Simonides continued with him till his death, and died in Sicily, about the age of ninety.

To the discourses of Simonides with Hiero, there are allusions in Plato's Epistle to Dionysius (Epist. ii.); and in Aristotle's Rhetoric, ii. 16.

HIERO

A DIALOGUE ON THE CONDITION OF ROYALTY,

BETWEEN

HIERO, KING OF SYRACUSE, AND SIMONIDES THE POET.

CHAPTER I.

Hiero observes that private individuals enjoy more gratifications from the senses than sovereigns; that they are more at liberty to seek objects of curiosity or pleasure, as well in foreign countries as in their own; that their ears are delighted with more sincere praise than those of kings; that their appetites are less satiated with dainties; that the odours with which kings are perfumed please the sense of others rather than their own; and that kings have the disadvantage even in affairs of love.

1. THE poet Simonides came once on a visit to the court of Hiero. When they were both at leisure, Simonides said, "Would you consent to tell me some things which it is probable that you know better than I?"

"And of what nature are those things," said Hiero, "which I can be expected to know better than you, who are so wise a man?"

2. "I know," said Simonides, "that you have been in a private station, and that you are now a prince. It is natural, therefore, since you have had experience of both conditions, that you should know better than I, in what respects the life of a king and that of a private man differ, with reference to the pleasures or pains usually attendant on mankind."

3. "Well, then," said Hiero, "why should not you, as you are still, for the present at least, in a private station, recall to my memory the peculiarities of private life? for by that means I

think that I shall be best enabled to set before you the distinctive qualities of each condition."

4. Simonides accordingly said, "I think that I have observed, Hiero, that men in private life are affected with pleasure and pain through their eyes, by objects which they see; through their ears, by sounds which they hear; through the nose, by odours; through the mouth, by meats and drinks; and through other bodily senses, by means which every one knows. 5. As to cold and warm, hard and soft, light and heavy objects, it seems to me that, in distinguishing them, we receive agreeable or painful impressions in all parts of our bodies alike. But by good and evil, we appear to be delighted or offended sometimes through the mind alone, and sometimes through the mind and body in conjunction. 6. That we receive pleasure from sleep, I seem to myself to be conscious; but how, and in what part of us, and at what time,[1] I feel myself rather at a loss to understand; nor ought this perhaps to seem surprising, since what affects us when we are awake makes clearer impressions upon our senses than that which influences us during sleep."

7. To these observations Hiero replied, "For my part, Simonides, I should be quite unable to tell how a king can have any other perceptions besides those which you have mentioned. Accordingly, as far as these points are concerned, I know not whether the life of a king differs in any respect from that of a private person."

8. "Yet in these particulars," said Simonides, "there would be a difference,[2] if the king is pleased by each of these means as much as the private person, and has far fewer causes of trouble."

"Such, however, is not the case," said Hiero; "as kings, be well assured, experience much less pleasure than persons living in a middle rank of life, and have also more numerous and considerable sources of trouble."

9. "What you say," rejoined Simonides, "is incredible; for, if it were so, why should many, even of those who seem

[1] Ὅπως—ὥτινι—οπότε.] In what manner, in what part of the body, and whether when falling asleep or when actually asleep. *Schneider.*

[2] I read διαφέροι ἂν with Schneider, Zeune, and Stobæus. Weiske and Dindorf have διαφέρει.

to be most sensible [1] persons, be desirous of reigning? And why should everybody envy kings?"

10. "Because, forsooth," replied Hiero, "they form their opinions upon the subject without having had experience of both conditions. On this point I will endeavour to convince you that I speak the truth, beginning my remarks with the sense of sight; for I seem to have a recollection that it was with an allusion to that sense that you commenced your observations on the subject. 11. Looking in the first place, then, to objects that fall under our vision, I am persuaded that kings have the disadvantage in that respect. In different countries there are different objects worthy of being seen; and to every one of these private persons can go, and also to whatever cities they please, for the purpose of viewing them; as well as to the public assemblies, where whatever is thought most worthy of contemplation among mankind appears to be collected. 12. But kings cannot occupy themselves much with spectacles; for neither is it safe for them to go where they will not be stronger than those around them, nor have they their affairs in so secure a condition at home, that they can intrust the conduct of them to others, and go abroad; since they have at once to dread lest they be deprived of their sovereignty, and lest they be rendered incapable of taking vengeance on those who have wronged them.

13. "'But spectacles of this kind,' you will perhaps tell me, 'are presented to kings even while they remain at home.' Assuredly, my dear Simonides, only few out of many; and these, of whatever nature, are sold at so high a price to kings, that those who exhibit before them anything whatsoever, think that they ought to be dismissed with the receipt of a far greater reward from a sovereign for a short time, than they would gain from all other men together for their whole life."

14. "But," remarked Simonides, "if you have the disadvantage as to objects of sight, you have at least the superiority as to hearing; for you are never without the most pleasing of

[1] Ἱκανωτάτων ἀνδρῶν.] Sturz, in his Lexicon, takes ἱκανός, in this passage, in the sense of *bonus, probus, peritus*. This seems to be a better interpretation than Weiske's, who thinks that it means *opibus pollenes*, in opposition to οἱ μετρίως διάγοντες, who are mentioned a little above. Schneider, however, follows Weiske.

all sounds, that of your own praise; since all who approach you applaud alike whatever you say, and whatever you do; while you are exempted from hearing the most unpleasant of sounds, that of censure, as no one ventures to reprove a king to his face."

15. "But what pleasure," said Hiero, "do you think those who do not speak ill of a king give him, when he is well aware that all of them, though they are silent, think everything that is bad of him? Or what delight do you suppose his encomiasts afford, when they are suspected of offering their praises for the purpose of flattering?"

16. "This," said Simonides, "I certainly admit, that the most agreeable of praises are those which proceed from men of the most independent spirit.[1] But (as you see)[2] with regard to the food on which we human beings are supported, you will never persuade a single individual in the whole world, that you do not derive from it far more pleasure than other men."

17. "I know very well, Simonides," he replied, "that the greater part of mankind consider that we eat and drink with more pleasure than private individuals; and for this reason, that they think they themselves would partake with greater relish of the entertainment which is set before us, than of that which is set before them; for whatever exceeds[3] that to which we are accustomed affords gratification. 18. On this account, all mankind look forward with pleasure to festival days, except kings; for their tables, being always supplied with abundance, admit of no addition on festive occasions; so that, first of all, in the pleasure derived from anticipation they are decidedly inferior to private individuals. 19. And in the next place," continued he, "I am sure that you are very well aware of this fact, that the more dishes a man has on his table beyond what is sufficient, the sooner satiety in eating comes upon him; so that, with regard to the duration of this pleasure, he

[1] Agesilaus used to say, that he was best pleased with the praises of those who would have blamed him with equal freedom if he had acted improperly. See Ages. c. 11, sect. 5.

[2] Ὀρᾷς.] Zeune and Schneider suspect that this word is a corruption of ἆρα οὐ.

[3] Τὸ ὑπερβαλλον.] This reading of Dindorf's is infinitely preferable to ὑπερβάλλειν, which Zeune and Schneider have adopted from Athenæus.

who is served with profusion is in a worse condition than those who live in a more moderate style."

20. "Yet assuredly," said Simonides, "during the time that the appetite requires food, those who feed on the more sumptuous dishes must experience greater gratification than those who provide themselves with less expensive meats."

21. "Do you not think then, Simonides," said Hiero, "that he who is most pleased with any object attaches himself to that object with the most fondness?"

"Certainly," replied Simonides.

"Do you then see princes come with greater pleasure to the food which is prepared for them than private individuals to theirs?"

"Certainly not," replied Simonides, "very far from it; on the contrary, they sit down to it with less pleasure, as many seem to have been of opinion."

22. "Have you not observed also," asked Hiero, "those numerous artificial stimulants to the appetite which are set on the tables of princes, acid, hot, pungent sauces, and things of a similar nature?"

"Certainly," replied Simonides, "and such things appear to me to be quite unnatural to man."

23. "Do you think, then," said Hiero, "that such kinds of food are anything else but excitements to an appetite rendered languid and weak with delicacies? For, for my own part, I know very well, and you doubtless know also, that those who eat with a good appetite want no such artificial appliances?"

24. "As to those expensive perfumes, indeed," said Simonides, "with which you anoint yourselves, I consider that those who approach you have more enjoyment from you than you yourselves have; as with regard also to unpleasant odours, it is not he that has eaten of anything offensive that perceives it, but rather those who come near him."

25. "So too," said Hiero, "he who has always all sorts of dainties before him partakes of none of them with an appetite; while he who rarely meets with any delicacy eats of it to the full, whenever it comes before him, with a keen relish."

26. "The pleasures of love, then," continued Simonides, "seem to be the only objects that can excite in you the desire

of reigning; for in this respect it is in your power to attach yourselves to whatever object you find eminently beautiful."

27. "You have now, be assured," returned Hiero, "mentioned that in which we are in a far inferior condition to private persons; for, in the first place, that sort of marriage is regarded as honourable which is contracted with our superiors in wealth and influence, and is thought to confer a certain distinction, as well as pleasure, on him who forms the connexion; in the next place to this, is a marriage of an equal with an equal; but an alliance contracted with inferiors is considered altogether dishonourable and pernicious. 28. A prince, however, unless he marry a foreign woman, must necessarily marry from an inferior family; so that the object of his love does not always fall to his lot. Again, the attentions paid to princes by women proud of their nobility gratify them most; but as to those that proceed from slaves, they are, if offered, received with no pleasure, and, if at all neglected, the neglect excites violent anger and ill-feeling. 29. But even in regard to male objects of affection, the king, as to the pleasure to be derived from them, labours under still greater disadvantage than in connexions from which an offspring is expected; for that it is when sexual unions are attended with love that they afford the highest pleasure, we all assuredly know; but love is usually excited in a king less than in any other person, since love delights in pursuing, not that which is always ready, but that which is still an object of hope. 30. As a person, therefore, would have no enjoyment in drinking, if he had not previously known thirst, so he who is unacquainted with the longings of love has no experience of the most ravishing pleasures."

31. Such was the opinion that Hiero expressed. But Simonides, with a smile, replied, "What say you, Hiero? Do you intimate that no desire for male objects of affection arises in a king? How is it, then, that you have such love for Dailochus, who is called the most beautiful of youths?"

32. "It is not assuredly, my dear Simonides," replied Hiero, "because I am so eager to obtain from him that which appears to be always ready for me, but because I long to effect that which is least of all in the power of a king. 33. For I indeed desire to have from Dailochus what human nature perhaps compels every one to desire from beautiful objects; but what

I desire to have I wish to obtain with mutual affection and willingness, and to extort from him by force I feel less inclination than I should feel to do an injury to my own person. 34. To take from enemies against their will, I consider to be one of the highest gratifications; but favours from objects of affection give us most pleasure when they bestow them voluntarily. 35. From one who returns our affection, glances of the eye, for instance, are pleasing, questions are pleasing, answers are pleasing, and little contentions and resentments are the most pleasing and fascinating of all. 36. But to enjoy objects of our affection by force appears to be more like the act of a robber than that of a lover. To a robber, indeed, the prospect of gain, or the annoyance of an enemy, affords some gratification; but to snatch pleasure from an object of our desire, while that object is suffering pain, to incur hatred by the advances of love, and to lay hands on one that resents the familiarity, can such conduct be regarded as otherwise than odious and contemptible? 37. To a private individual, if the object of his affection offers him a favour, it is at once a proof that that object bestows the favour through love, since he knows that the favour is conferred without any impulse from necessity. 38. But as to a king, it is hardly ever possible for him to believe that he is loved; for we know that those who submit to our pleasure through fear, assimilate their manner, as much as they can, to that of those who comply with our wishes from love; and indeed there are none from whom conspiracies against kings proceed more frequently than from those who have affected to love them with the greatest sincerity."

CHAPTER II.

Simonides observes that the gratifications derived from the senses are comparatively small, and mentions greater things in which sovereigns have the advantage. Hiero endeavours to prove that sovereignty is but splendid misery, being deprived of many enjoyments, and experiencing many inconveniences and troubles. Kings are threatened by enemies at home and abroad; they suffer all the vexations of war in common with free states, but enjoy fewer advantages from it.

1. To these remarks Simonides replied, "But the matters which you mention appear to me to be but of very small weight;

for I observe, that many of those who are esteemed as manly characters are far more moderate than other persons in regard to food, and drink, and sauces, and abstain altogether from the pleasures of love. 2. But you have certainly a great advantage over private persons in the following respects: that you conceive great projects, and soon carry them into execution; that you have everything excellent in the greatest abundance, and possess horses distinguished for spirit, arms remarkable for beauty, ornaments of the highest value for your wives, palaces of the greatest magnificence, adorned with furniture of the highest cost; that you have attendants extremely numerous, and of the greatest expertness; and that you are in the best condition to do harm to your enemies, and good to your friends."

3. Upon this Hiero observed, "That the greater part of mankind are deluded by the splendour of royalty, I am not at all surprised; for the multitude appear to me to judge of people as happy or miserable principally from what they see. 4. And royalty exhibits to the world conspicuously, and unfolded fully to the view, those objects which are esteemed of the highest value; while it keeps the troubles of kings concealed in the inmost recesses of the soul, where both the happiness and the misery of mankind reside. 5. That the multitude, therefore, as I said, should be deceived as to this point, I do not at all wonder; but that you, who appear to form your judgment of most things rather from reflection than by the eye, should labour under the same ignorance, seems to me quite astonishing. 6. For my own part, I know from experience extremely well, and I assure you, Simonides, that kings have the smallest share of the greatest enjoyments, and the largest share of the greatest of evils. 7. For example, if peace is thought to be a great good to mankind, kings have the least participation of it; if war is deemed a great evil, kings have the greatest part of it. 8. Private individuals, if their country is not engaged in a public war, have full liberty to travel wherever they please, without the least fear that any one will put them to death; but all kings travel everywhere as in an enemy's country; at least they think it necessary to go armed themselves, and to surround their persons perpetually with armed men. 9. Again, private individuals, if they go to make war in an enemy's country, still find, as soon as they return home,

that there is safety for them there; but kings, when they come to their own capitals, are conscious that they are then in the midst of the greatest number of enemies. 10. Or, if an enemy come against a city in superior numbers, the weaker party, as long as they are without the walls, will indeed seem to be in danger, but when they have withdrawn into the fortifications, will consider that they are all in safety; but a king is not in security even when he has retired into his own palace, but finds that he has then the greatest cause to be upon his guard. 11. Private persons, too, during a truce or a settled peace, enjoy cessation from the troubles of war; but kings are never at peace with those whom they hold in subjection; nor can a king ever place full reliance on treaties.

12. "Again, there are wars in which free states are engaged with one another, and wars which kings carry on against people whom they have forced into subjection. Of these wars, whatever inconveniences those between free states occasion, the same inconveniences also a king experiences in his; 13. for both the one and the other are obliged to be constantly in arms, to be upon guard, and to expose themselves to dangers; and both, if they meet with any disaster from defeat, are equally doomed to suffer from it. 14. Thus far, both kinds of wars are on an equality; but of the advantages with which those are attended that are carried on by free states against free states, the king has never any share. 15. For when the inhabitants of a free city have overcome the enemy in the field, it is not easy to express the pleasure which they feel in putting their opponents to flight, as well as in pursuing and making havoc of them; how much they glory in such an exploit; what splendid distinctions they claim for themselves; and how they exult in the thought that they have augmented the strength of their commonwealth. 16. Each vindicates to himself some share in the honour of the enterprise, and maintains that he has himself killed the greatest number of the enemy; and it is difficult to find an occasion on which they do not exaggerate, and assume that they have killed more than were really left dead; so honourable does it appear to them to have gained a complete victory. 17. But as for a king, when he suspects, and becomes actually convinced, that people are forming designs against him, and puts them to death, he is aware that he will not by that means increase the strength of

his kingdom; he knows that he shall rule over fewer subjects, and cannot feel pleased, much less elated, at what he has done; he even extenuates his act as far as he can, and makes an apology for his conduct by alleging that he has done nothing with undue severity; so far from honourable do such proceedings appear even to himself. 18. And when those whom he dreaded are cut off, he is not at all the more free from apprehension,[1] but finds that he must keep himself still more on his guard than before. Such warfare is a king, as I exemplify in my own person, perpetually waging.

CHAPTER III.

Sovereigns have few real friends; they live in dread of their own relatives.

1. "CONSIDER, moreover, what sort of friendships kings enjoy. But let us reflect, in the first place, how great a blessing friendship is to mankind; 2. for whoever is beloved by others, those who love him hail his coming with pleasure, and take delight in serving him; when he leaves them, they are concerned at his absence, and when he returns, they welcome him with transport; they rejoice at his good fortune, and if they see him in any trouble, are ready to assist him. 3. Nor is it unknown to whole communities that friendship is the greatest and most valuable of blessings to mortals; since many states allow the putting of adulterers to death, alone of all offenders, with impunity; and evidently for this reason, that they regard them as destroyers of that friendship which women ought to have for their husbands. 4. For when a woman has been forced into a breach of chastity by some concurrence of circumstances, her husband may not on that account esteem her the less, if her friendship for him appear to continue inviolate. 5. So great a happiness do I esteem it to be loved, that I really fancy every blessing, both from gods and men, ready to descend spontaneously upon him who is beloved. 6. Yet

[1] Οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον τούτου θαῤῥεῖ.] I consider, with Weiske, that ἕνεκα ought to be inserted, though Zeune thinks that it may be understood.

of this so valuable a good kings have of all men the least share; and if you wish to be convinced, my dear Simonides, that I say what is true, attend to the following consideration.

7. "The finest friendships appear to be those of parents for children, of children for parents, of brothers for brothers, of wives for husbands, and those that subsist between daily associates. 8. If you reflect on the subject, then, you will find that it is private persons who are most sincerely beloved by their connexions; and that many rulers have put to death their own children, and that many have been cut off by the hands of their own offspring; that many brothers have killed one another in contending for thrones; and that many sovereigns have been murdered by their own wives, or by associates who pretended to be their greatest friends. 9. How is it possible, then, to imagine that those who are thus hated by such as are most strongly prompted by nature, and obliged by the laws, to love them, can be objects of affection to any one else?

CHAPTER IV.

Inability to trust in those about him a great trouble to a sovereign. He is not protected by his country and by the laws like a private individual. He has less pleasure in his wealth than those of an inferior condition have in theirs. Kings are often forced to rob others, or to be in want themselves.

1. "MUST not he also who has but little trust in others feel himself deprived of a very great blessing? For what society can be agreeable without mutual confidence, or what pleasing intercourse can there be without such confidence, even between man and wife? What servant in our family can give us satisfaction who is distrusted? 2. But of this reciprocal confidence a monarch has of all men the least share, since he cannot live without perpetual distrust of every sort of food and drink, however exquisite, that is set before him; and he requires his attendant, even before he makes an offering to the gods, to taste of it, because he suspects that he may eat or drink something poisonous in it.

3. "To other men, moreover, their country is of the highest

value; for citizens act as guards to one another, without stipend, against their slaves, and act as guards, too, to one another against bad characters, in order that no one of their countrymen may fall by a violent death. 4. They have even gone so far in precaution, that many states have made a law that no one shall be accounted guiltless who associates with one who is polluted with blood; so that every member of the state lives in safety under the protection afforded by his country. 5. But with tyrants [1] the very reverse is the case; for states, instead of avenging their deaths, bestow great honour on him who kills a tyrant; and instead of excluding tyrannicides from their temples, as they exclude the murderers of private citizens, they even place in their temples the statues of those who have been guilty of tyrannicide.

6. "If, again, you think that a monarch, because he has greater wealth than private individuals, has necessarily greater enjoyment from it, such is not the fact, my dear Simonides; but, as when athletes overcome such as are ignorant of gymnastic exercises, their victory gives them no pleasure, but when they are vanquished by accomplished antagonists, their defeat causes them annoyance; so neither is a king delighted merely when he is seen to possess more than private individuals, but is vexed when he possesses less than other kings; for these he considers as his proper rivals in regard to wealth.

7. "Nor are the objects of his desire attained sooner by a monarch than a private man; for a private man desires perhaps a house, a field, or a slave; but a king aims at acquiring cities, or extensive provinces, or harbours, or fortresses, which are much more difficult and hazardous of acquisition than the objects coveted by private individuals. 8. You will even see but few that are really poor among private persons, in comparison with the many that may be called poor among sovereigns; for what is much, or what is sufficient, is not estimated by the number of a man's possessions, but by the exigencies of

[1] The word tyrant signified one who held absolute power over a state, whether he inherited that power or obtained it for himself. He might exercise his power either mildly or despotically, according to his natural disposition. Those whom it was thought lawful to kill were chiefly such as acted as tyrants in the English sense of the word; though many of the Spartans, and severer republicans, deemed it allowable to kill any tyrant, whatever was his character.

his condition; so that what exceeds that which is sufficient may be called much, and what falls short of sufficiency little. 9. To a king, accordingly, revenues that are many times greater than those of any private individual may be less than sufficient for his necessary expenses; for private persons may contract their daily expenses as they please, but with kings this is impossible, since their most necessary expenditure is for the guard of their persons, and to retrench any part of that expenditure [1] would but threaten their destruction.

10. "As for those, again, who can obtain by lawful means whatever they need, how can we consider them poor? But as to those who are obliged by want to live in a course of unjust and dishonourable contrivances, how can we fairly regard them otherwise than as poor and wretched? 11. Kings, then, are frequently compelled to spoil alike temples and individuals, in defiance of law, through want of daily supplies for their necessary expenses; for they are forced to maintain troops as if they were constantly at war, or become powerless.

CHAPTER V.

Sovereigns are often forced to live in fear even of the most honourable and worthy of their subjects. A sovereign is obliged to employ many whom he dislikes. He is most afraid of rebellion among his people when they are most prosperous.

1. "I WILL mention to you, also, my dear Simonides, another unhappiness of kings. They distinguish, not less accurately than private persons, which of their subjects are orderly,[2] and wise, and just; but, instead of regarding such characters with admiration, they look upon them with dread. They fear men of spirit, lest they should make some

[1] Τὸ δὲ τούτων συντέμνειν.] This is the reading of all the editions. Schneider admonishes us to understand τι, which is inserted in the passage as given in Stobæus. Weiske says that τούτων is a *genitivus partis*, for ἐκ τούτων τί.

[2] Κοσμίους.] This word, says Weiske, is a stumbling-block to a careful editor. Stobæus has ἀλκίμους, which, as both he and Schneider remark, is much more suitable to the drift of the passage.

bold attempt in favour of liberty; men of abilities, lest they should engage in some conspiracy; men of virtue, lest the multitude should desire to be governed by them. 2. But when, from apprehension, they have removed such characters out of the way, what others are left them to employ in their service, except the dishonest, and licentious, and servile? The dishonest are trusted, because, like monarchs themselves, they live in fear of the people, lest they should become free and become their masters; the licentious, because of their attachment to present power;[1] and the servile, because they do not even think themselves deserving to be free. This accordingly appears to me to be a great calamity, to esteem some characters as good, and to be obliged to employ those of a different sort.

3. "It is necessary, besides, that a monarch have a regard for his people, for without them he cannot be either safe or prosperous; yet the necessity of supporting his authority compels him to be severe upon them; for monarchs do not delight in rendering their subjects brave or warlike; they rather take pleasure, on the contrary, in raising mercenaries from foreign parts to overawe their own people, and using them as guards of their persons. 4. Nor even when, from a full harvest, there is abundance of provisions, does the monarch rejoice with his people on the occasion; for the more they are in want, the more submissive he expects to find them.

CHAPTER VI.

Hiero compares the pleasures of the life which he enjoyed as a private person with the anxieties to which he is subject in his present position.

1. "I WISH to mention to you also, Simonides, those pleasures which I used to enjoy when I was a private individual, but of which, since I have become a king, I feel myself deprived.

[1] Τῆς εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἐξουσίας ἕνεκα.] "For the sake of power for the present." "Parce que leur lachet' les attache au pouvoir présent." *Gail.* They are content with any government under which they can enjoy themselves and have a certain portion of influence.

2. I conversed familiarly with my equals in age, delighted with their society, as they were with mine. I spent my time alone, whenever I desired to enjoy the tranquillity of solitude; or I joined in convivial entertainments with my friends; oftentimes till we forgot whatever is disagreeable in human life; oftentimes till we lost all thought in songs and carousings and dancings; and oftentimes till we gratified our most extravagant inclinations, my own as well as those of my associates.[1] 3. But now I am debarred from the companionship of those who took pleasure in my society, as I have slaves only for associates instead of friends; I am deprived of all gratification in the society of those companions that I have, because I see in them no good feeling towards me; and I guard against intoxication and sleep, as against conspirators. 4. But to fear a multitude, and to fear solitude, to fear the absence of guards, and to fear the guards themselves, to be unwilling to have unarmed men around me, and to see armed men without pleasure, can this be regarded as other than a wretched state of existence? 5. To place, besides, greater confidence in foreigners than in one's own countrymen, in barbarians than in Greeks, to desire to treat free men as slaves, and to be forced to give slaves freedom,[2] do not all these things appear to you indications of a mind disturbed by terrors? 6. But fear not only causes uneasiness in the mind itself, but is the constant destroyer of all our pleasures. 7. If you have any experience of warlike proceedings, Simonides, and have ever been stationed in close opposition to a body of the enemy, call to mind how little food you ate, and how little sleep you took, at that time. 8. And uneasy as were the sensations which you then experienced, such, and even more disquieting, are those of tyrants; for tyrants fancy that they see enemies, not merely in front of them, but on all sides."

9. Simonides, on hearing these observations, said in reply, "You appear to me to state some part of your argument too strongly; for war, indeed, is attended with constant alarms; but yet, Hiero, when we are in the field, we enjoy our dinner

[1] Μέχρι κοινῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐμῆς τε καὶ τῶν παρόντων.] Schneider suspects that μέθης, or something similar, ought to occupy the place of ἐπιθυμίας. Weiske conjectures εὐθυμίας.

[2] In order to make friends and supporters of them.

and our sleep, after we have posted our sentinels, in perfect security."

10. "Very true," said Hiero, "for the laws keep watch over the guards themselves,[1] so that they fear for themselves as well as for you; but kings have guards that are merely hired for pay, like labourers in harvest. 11. It is incumbent on guards, indeed, to make nothing so much their object as to be faithful; but it is far more difficult to find one among our guards faithful, than to find numbers of trustworthy workmen in any trade that you may desire; especially as our guards attend us for the sake of money, and have it in their power to gain much more money in a short time, by killing their sovereign, than they would receive from him for affording him protection for a long period.

12. "But as to the privilege for which you said that we were to be envied, that of being able to benefit our friends, and to suppress our enemies, beyond all other men, what you say is by no means just. 13. For how can you think of us as ever conferring favours on friends, when you are well aware that he who receives most from us would be most eager to withdraw himself as soon as possible from our sight, since whatever a man receives from an absolute prince, he thinks no part of his own till he is out of that prince's power?

14. "Or how can you say that princes have the greatest power of subduing their enemies, when they are sensible that all are their enemies, who are subject to their rule? It is not in their power to put all to death, or to confine them all in prison; for over whom would they then rule? But though they know that their subjects are their enemies, they must at the same time both guard against them, and employ their services. 15. Be assured of this also, Simonides, that such of their subjects as princes dread, they can neither see living without uneasiness, nor put to death without uneasiness. As with regard to a horse, if he have good qualities, but makes us fear that he may cause some fatal accident, we should feel the utmost reluctance, on account of his value, to put him to death, yet we should also feel extremely unwilling to make use of him, lest, amidst the danger which we must incur, he should do us some irreparable mischief.

[1] Αὐτῶν—προφυλάττουσιν οἱ νόμοι.] The guards do their duty thro ugh fear of the laws. *Portus.*

16. "Such is the case likewise with many other things that we possess; they are attended with trouble, and yet are useful; and they alike annoy us while we retain them, and cause us regret when we part from them."

CHAPTER VII.

Simonides observes that honour, a great object of human desire, is paid to kings. Hiero replies that such honour is rather forced than voluntary. Simonides asks why then kings do not resign their power? Hiero answers that, though they cannot maintain their position without trouble, they cannot retire from it without danger to themselves.

1. SIMONIDES, having listened to these observations from Hiero, said, "Yet, Hiero, honour appears to me to be an object of great importance, since men submit to every kind of labour, and undergo every sort of danger, with the desire of attaining it. 2. You sovereigns, though royalty is attended with so many troubles as you describe, are nevertheless strongly attached to it, as it seems, in order that you may be honoured, and that all around you may readily execute whatever you command; that everybody may fix their gaze upon you, may rise from their seats before you, and yield you the way, and that all about you may show respect for you by their words and actions; for such are the honours which subjects pay to sovereigns, and to any one else to whom they have occasion to testify respect. 3. For it is in this desire of honour, Hiero, that man seems to me to differ from the other animals; since in eating, and drinking, and sleep, and sexual intercourse, all animals appear to find equal gratification; but the love of honour is not implanted by nature in the irrational animals, nor, indeed, in all men; and they in whom the love of honour and praise is innate, are those who are elevated most above the brutes, and who are justly named men, and not merely human beings. 4. So that you seem to me to submit to all the inconveniences which you experience in sustaining royalty not without good reason, since you are honoured far above other mortals. Indeed, no human pleasure seems to approach nearer to the

divine nature than the delight which is felt from receiving honour."

5. "But I assure you, my dear Simonides," said Hiero, in reply, "that the honours offered to sovereigns appear to me extremely similar to the pleasures which I have observed to you that they receive from love. 6. For the complaisances paid us by such as have no reciprocal affection for us, we allowed, were not to be regarded as favours, and submission extorted by force was admitted to give no real pleasure; and in like manner services that proceed from such as fear us cannot be considered as honours. 7. How, indeed, can we imagine that those who rise from their seats by compulsion rise to do honour to persons that do them harm,[1] or that those who give the way to their superiors, give it from a desire of showing respect to those who tyrannize over them? 8. A vast number of mankind make presents to those whom they hate, and offer them when they are most in fear of suffering some harm from them; but such acts, I consider, must justly be regarded as acts of servility; whereas real respect, as it appears to me, proceeds from quite contrary motives. 9. Since, when people think that a man is capable of doing them service, and are in expectation of enjoying benefits from him, and consequently[2] have his name in their mouths with praise, contemplate him each as his own benefactor, gladly make way for him, and rise from their seats before him from love, and not from fear, crown him for his public virtues and beneficence, and are ready to bestow other marks of esteem upon him, they who pay such respect seem to me to honour such a man in sincerity, and he who is thought worthy of such regard appears to be truly honoured. 10. A man who is thus held in consideration, I regard as eminently happy; for I observe that he is not conspired against, but becomes an object of solicitude, in order that he may suffer no harm, and that he passes a life free from fear, and danger, and peril, and in the midst of prosperity; while a tyrant, my dear Simonides, passes day and night, be

[1] Διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας.] By οἱ ἀδικοῦντες are here meant "tyrants." *Sturz. Lex. Xen.*

[2] Ἔπειτα.] *Propterea* is the sense required. At other times this particle, when used somewhat redundantly, has rather the sense of *tamen*. *Weiske.*

assured, as if he were condemned by the whole human race to die for his usurpation."

11. When Simonides had heard these remarks, "How is it then," said he, "if kingly power is attended with so much trouble, and you are sensible of its vexations, that you, Hiero, do not free yourself from so great an evil, and that no other sovereign has ever voluntarily laid down power, after he had once become possessed of it?"

12. "Because," replied Hiero, "it is on this very account that royalty is the most wretched condition imaginable; for there is no possibility of setting one's self free from it, since how can any sovereign command sufficient resources to make restitution of property to those from whom he has taken it, or how can he make atonement in bonds to those whom he has cast into prison, or how can he offer a sufficient number of lives to die for those whom he has put to death?[1] 13. If, indeed, my dear Simonides, it would be a gain to any man to hang himself, I certainly think that it would be of the very greatest advantage to a tyrant to do so; for he alone is profited neither by retaining his troubles nor by laying them aside."

CHAPTER VIII.

Simonides observes that a sovereign has more facilities than other men for securing good-will and attachment, as small favours from him are more valued than greater ones from private individuals. Hiero replies that a sovereign must also do many things that render him unpopular.

1. SIMONIDES, in reply, said, "I am not indeed surprised, Hiero, that you feel so despondingly, at present, with respect to royalty, since, having a desire to be loved by mankind, you regard your station as an impediment to your wishes. I think that I can show you, however, that kingly power is no obsta-

[1] Ψυχὰς—ἀποθανουμένας.] I am persuaded that Xenophon wrote ἀποθανούμενος. He who dies yields up his life; but a tyrant, dying by a violent death, cannot yield up a number of lives, to atone for those that he has taken away from the number of his subjects that he has condemned to death. *Schneider.*

cle to gaining love, but that it ever gives an advantage to him who holds it, in reference to that object, over private individuals. 2. But in considering whether it is so, let us not examine whether the monarch, from having greater power, can also bestow greater favours, but, supposing that a private person and a king confer equal favours, contemplate which of the two will, through the influence of such favours, command[1] the greater feeling of acknowledgment from those whom he obliges. I will begin with examples from matters of lighter moment. 3. First, let a king and a private individual address any person in a friendly manner; whose salutation do you think will give the greater pleasure to the hearer? Or, if they both praise the same person, whose praise do you think will produce the greater gratification? Or, after a sacrifice,[2] let each invite him to his table, whose invitation do you think would be received with the greater respect? 4. Or let them pay equal attention to a sick person, is it not certain that the attentions of the more powerful will convey the higher gratification? Or let them make presents of equal cost; is it not indubitable that gifts of half the price from the more influential would be valued at a higher rate than the whole of what is bestowed by the private individual? 5. To me it appears that there descends as it were from the gods a certain dignity and grace to attend on the person of a king; a dignity which not only renders the man himself more majestic, but makes us look on the same man with more pleasure when he is invested with royalty than when he is in a private station; and we feel a greater pride in conversing with those who are superior to us in honour, than with those who are on a level with us.

6. "As to love, too, in reference to which you found the greatest fault with the condition of royalty, the objects of a king's affection are least offended at old age in him, and with whomsoever he is familiar, it is accounted no disgrace to him; for the very honour received from the prince casts such a lustre on the connexion, as to throw into the shade whatever

[1] Dindorf, and most modern editors, read *κρᾶται*: Schneider and Weiske *κρᾶσθαι*, understanding *δύναιτ' ἄν* from the words preceding.

[2] It was usual among the Greeks to invite their friends to an entertainment after a sacrifice, when they partook of what was left of the victims.

is ignominious in it, and to make what is attractive appear in brighter colours.

7. "Since, then, by equal services you secure greater regard than private persons, why ought you not to be far more beloved than they, when you have it in your power to benefit mankind by far more numerous services, and are in a condition to bestow far more liberal donations?"

8. Hiero immediately replied by saying, "Because, assuredly, my dear Simonides, necessity obliges us to do many more of those acts by which men incur unpopularity than private persons are called upon to do. 9. We must raise money by taxes, if we would have enough for our necessary expenditure; we must compel men to guard whatever requires to be guarded; we must punish criminals, and repress such as are inclined to be insolent; and whenever there is occasion for activity, to undertake an expedition by sea or land, we must not intrust an affair of the kind to negligent commanders.[1] 10. A king has also need of mercenary troops; no burden is more oppressive on the people than they are, for they consider that such troops are maintained, not for the safety of the state,[2] but as an instrument of tyranny."

CHAPTER IX.

Simonides advises Hiero to stimulate his subjects to honourable exertion, by offering rewards for such as meritoriously distinguished themselves.

1. IN answer to this Simonides again observed, "I do not deny, Hiero, that attention must be given to all these objects; yet, though some of these concerns appear to tend greatly to unpopularity, others seem to lead directly to the attainment of public favour. 2. To teach things that are most excellent,

[1] So that we shall offend those whom we do not employ.

[2] The word *ισορίμους*, which appears in all copies, is, says Schneider, evidently corrupt; and he supposes that it has usurped the place of some word not much in use. Leunclavius proposes *τιμῆς*. D'Orville *ἰσοτιμίας*. I have followed Zeune, who adopts *σωτηρίας* from Aretinus's version.

and to commend and honour him who does them best, is an office that must secure regard; while to rebuke and coerce, to fine and punish, him who fails in his duty, must necessarily rather provoke dislike. 3. I am therefore of opinion that a ruler should commit the task of punishing such as require severity to others, but that he should execute the office of bestowing rewards in his own person. 4. That such a course would be attended with good effects, experience shows; for when we wish choruses[1] to contend for honours, the president[2] himself proposes the prizes, but to the choragi is committed the duty of assembling the members of the chorus, to others that of instructing them, and of imposing penalties on such as are deficient in their parts. Thus in such matters the agreeable duty is done by the president, and that which is of a contrary nature by others. 5. What obstacle is there, then, to the management of other affairs in the city in a similar manner? All communities have their several divisions, some into tribes, others into *morœ*, others into *lochi*,[3] and over each of these divisions an officer is appointed. 6. If, therefore, we should offer rewards to these divisions, as we offer them to choruses, for having their arms in good order, for excellent discipline, for skill in riding, for bravery in the field, for integrity in civil transactions, it is natural to suppose that all such duties would, from emulation, be sedulously observed; 7. and, assuredly, the citizens in general, from desire of honour, would be more ready to undertake an expedition whithersoever they might be required, and contribute more promptly to the support of the state whenever circumstances might demand; and besides (which is of all things the most beneficial, though it has been but little promoted by the influence of emulation), agriculture itself would be greatly advanced, if we should offer prizes, in the several farms and

[1] Bands of dancers, singers, and musicians.

[2] Ὁ ἄρχων.] The magistrate who had the charge of sacred ceremonies and festivities. *Schneider.*

[3] κατὰ φυλὰς—κατὰ μοίρας—κατὰ λόχους.] We ought probably to read μόρας for μοίρας. The division of the citizens into *morœ* was that of the Spartans, as is well known; that into *phylæ* was Athenian; that into *lochi* prevailed among the Thebans and Argives, as appears from Xen. Hellen. vi. 4. 13; vii. 2. 4. These divisions had respect not only to civil, but also to military duties; for Xenophon speaks of the Attic *phylæ* when he describes the order of the Athenian army in the Hellenica. (See also Hom. Il. ii. 362.) *Schneider.* Dindorf reads μόρας.

villages, for such as cultivated their land in the best manner, since by this means many advantages would be gained by those who should vigorously apply themselves to that occupation; 8. for the public revenues would be augmented, and temperance would be a closer attendant on increased exertion; and fewer crimes, indeed, are committed among people who are constantly employed. 9. If, moreover, commerce is of any advantage to a commonwealth, and if he who engages in it with the greatest diligence were to be honourably distinguished, he would doubtless collect merchants around him in greater numbers. If, too, it were made known that he who should discover any new source of revenue for the state, without detriment to individuals, would receive honour, neither would this consideration be neglected. 10. And to say all in one word, if it were made evident, in regard to all departments of the commonwealth, that he who introduced anything beneficial would not be unrewarded, the knowledge of this would incite numbers of people to endeavour to make useful discoveries; and when many pay attention to the interests of the public, a greater number of means for furthering them must necessarily be discovered and carried into effect.

11. "But if you are apprehensive, Hiero, that if prizes are offered for a great number of departments, the expense may be excessive, consider that no purchasable objects are obtained at less cost than those which men secure by means of prizes; for do you not see what small prizes, in the equestrian and scenic contests, call forth great expenditure, and much toil and care, on the part of the public?"

CHAPTER X.

Inconveniences of employing mercenary troops. Simonides shows how they may be employed to the greatest advantage.

1. "THESE remarks, Simonides," replied Hiero, "you appear to me to make with great justice; but have you anything to recommend respecting mercenary troops, to prevent me from being unpopular on their account? or are you

inclined to say that a prince who secures the affection of his subjects has no need of guards?"

2. "Nay," replied Simonides, "he will assuredly have need of them; for it is natural to men, as it is to horses, to become more unmanageable the more plentifully they are supplied with provisions;[1] and the fear of guards will be the more necessary to keep men in such a condition quiet. 3. To the virtuous and respectable part of the public, also, it appears to me that you can afford greater benefit by no other means than by the maintenance of a body of mercenaries. 4. You maintain them, indeed, as guards for your own person; but many masters have been put to death in past times by their own dependants; and if, therefore, it should be one of the chief charges given to your mercenaries, that they are the guards of all the citizens, and are to protect all, if they perceive any such danger threatening them[2]—and there are, as we all know, bad characters in every city—if therefore, I say, your guards were ordered to keep a watchful eye on such characters, the citizens in general would feel themselves benefited by the maintenance of them. 5. In addition to this, your guards might very well afford security and tranquillity, in a great measure, to the workmen and cattle in the fields, not only to your own, but to those throughout the country in general. They would be in a condition also, by guarding certain advantageous posts, to secure to the inhabitants freedom from interruption, so that they may attend to their proper business. 6. Besides, who are better fitted to foresee and prevent secret and sudden incursions of enemies than men who are always under arms and united in one body? For taking the field, too, what can be more beneficial to the citizens than a body of mercenaries? for it is natural that they should be in the highest degree ready to brave toil and danger in defence of the country. 7. Must it not happen, moreover, that neighbouring powers will be most desirous of peace with any country, when it has an armed force constantly on foot? for such a force is eminently able to protect the possessions of their friends, and to spread destruction among what be-

[1] It is assumed that the state has been made rich by the management of the prince. *Weiske.*

[2] Weiske supposes that some words have dropped out of the text here; but it is possible to make sense of the passage as it stands.

longs to their enemies. 8. When, therefore, the people understand that mercenary troops do no ill to such as do no wrong, but that they check such as desire to commit violence, succour such as are unjustly treated, and are vigilant and expose themselves to danger for the public safety, how can they do otherwise than contribute with pleasure to their support? Private individuals, indeed, often keep guards for objects of far less moment than these."

CHAPTER XI.

Simonides admonishes Hiero that a sovereign ought to employ his own private resources as much as possible for the public good, and ought to exert himself in every way to promote the prosperity of his dominions.

1. "IT is also incumbent on you, Hiero, not to shrink from expending a portion of your own private revenue on the public service; for it seems to me that what is laid out by a king for public objects is more advantageously bestowed than what is spent on his own private account. 2. Let us consider the point in reference to various particulars. Whether do you think that to have a palace adorned at an enormous expense, or to have your whole metropolis furnished with walls, and temples, and porticoes,[1] and market-places, and harbours, would do you the greater honour? 3. Or whether would you appear more formidable to your enemies, when you are yourself clad in the finest of armour, or when your whole country is efficiently armed? 4. In which way do you consider that your revenues would be rendered greater, by taking care to make merely your own private property productive, or by contriving that the property of the whole community may be productive? 5. And as to that which is thought to be the most honourable and noble of occupations, the breeding of horses for the chariot-race, whether do you think that you would do yourself the greater honour if you yourself[2] should maintain, and send to the public games, more chariots

[1] All the copies have παραστάσι, which means pillars, or perhaps colonnades. Ernesti and Schneider would read παστάσι, "porticoes," which seems preferable.

[2] Hiero's victories in the games are celebrated by Pindar.

than any other Greek, or if a greater number of men from your country than from any other should breed horses and contend at the games? Whether do you think it more noble to gain a victory by the excellence of your own particular chariot, or through the general prosperity of the city over which you rule? 6. I myself, indeed, think it quite unbecoming to a prince to enter the lists with private individuals; for if you are victorious, you will not be admired, but incur odium, as having extorted the money for your expenses from the substance of many families; and if you are unsuccessful, you will meet with more ridicule than any private individual. 7. I would impress upon you, Hiero, that your proper field of competition is against the rulers of other states, and if you exhibit the state that you govern superior in prosperity to theirs, be assured that you will have triumphed in the most honourable and noble contest that can arise among mankind. 8. And you will thus, in the first place, secure the love of your subjects, which you so much desire; and it will not be one herald only[1] that will proclaim your victory, but all mankind will concur in celebrating your merit. 9. Becoming an object of attention, you will be loved, not merely by a few private individuals, but by numbers of whole communities, and be admired, not only in your own palace, but through the whole world. 10. You will then be able to travel in safety wherever you please, for the purpose of gratifying your curiosity; or you may receive such gratification even while you remain at home; for there will always be numbers of people around you ready to exhibit whatever they have discovered that is either ingenious, or beautiful, or useful, and of such as will be desirous to gratify you.[2] 11. Every one who is admitted to your presence will be devoted to you, and every one at a distance will long to behold you; so that you will not only be regarded with favour, but sincerely beloved by mankind; and you will be under no necessity of soliciting favours from the objects of your affection, but must submit to be solicited by them. You will have no fear from others, but will excite fear in them, lest you

[1] As at the Olympic games.

[2] By constructing for you hereafter something agreeable or useful; something which may occur to them, or which you yourself may suggest. *Weiske.*

should meet with any harm. 12. You will find your subjects willing to obey you, and see them taking thought of their own accord for your interests. Should any danger chance to threaten you, you will have not only allies, but champions and zealous defenders. You will be thought deserving of innumerable presents, and you will never want a friend to whom you may impart a share of them. You will find all men delighted at your prosperity, and ready to contend for what is yours as earnestly as for what is their own. 13. You will consider all the wealth belonging to your friends as treasures laid up for your own use. Enrich then your friends without fear, Hiero, for by that means you will enrich yourself. Increase the power of your people, for you will thus clothe yourself with power; and secure for it allies,[1] * * * * 14. Esteem your country as your own family; your fellow-citizens as your friends; your friends as your children; and your children as your own life; and study to surpass them all in acts of kindness. 15. For if you go beyond your friends in kind offices, no enemies will be able to stand before you. And if you constantly pursue such a course of conduct, be certain that you will secure the most honourable and blissful possession attainable among mankind; for you will be happy, and not be envied."

[1] Weiske rightly supposes that something is wanting here; to this effect, "for you will thus gain supporters to your own power."

THE ŒCONOMICUS.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

Of the philosophy of Socrates, as transmitted to us by Xenophon, it is not the object to investigate the causes, or ascertain the origins, of divine and human things, but, by teaching what is good and honourable, to fit men, individually, for attaining happiness in life, and to instruct communities how to secure prosperity. There are, accordingly, two principal parts of the Socratic philosophy: the *ethic*, which shows what course of conduct every person must pursue in order to gain a character for virtue and honour; and the *political*, which teaches by what means individuals may advance a community to the highest state of excellence. But as the master of a family and his household constitute, as it were, a smaller community in the midst of a greater, and as the prosperity of the whole state depends on the proper management of each particular family, a third part, the *œconomic*, is added.

The first author that wrote of ethics, politics, and œconomics, in distinct and separate treatises, was Aristotle. As for Plato, who says that we cannot conceive of virtue or merit in a man or master of a family, unless as subject to the laws of his community, he has included all those three parts of moral philosophy in one book, which he has entitled his "Republic." But it was Xenophon that laid the foundation of this triple division; for in his "Memorabilia" he makes it his object to show the whole scope of the *moral* teaching of Socrates (though in that work

there is much that relates rather to political or œconomical science); in the "Cyropædia" he illustrates a part of *political* science; and in the present treatise he discusses *œconomy* or domestic management.

The dialogue in this book, unlike those in the "Memorabilia," is written in a certain regular method, and consists of parts carefully put together. We see that the whole work is purposely divided into two parts. The first, which contains a conversation of Socrates with Critobulus, is in place of an introduction, and prepares the reader for what is to follow; the other, which is a dialogue between Ischomachus and Socrates, sets forth the precepts intended to be given concerning the management of a family.

The simple and graceful facility in discussing a subject which we know to have been peculiar, not to the Socrates represented in Plato, but to the Socrates that really lived, is exhibited as clearly in the "Œconomicus" as in any of Xenophon's other writings. Cicero thought it worthy of being translated into Latin. *Breitenbach.*

A few other remarks on the "Œconomicus" may be seen in the "Biographical Notice of Xenophon," prefixed to the preceding volume.

THE ŒCONOMICUS;

OR,

A TREATISE

ON THE

MANAGEMENT OF A FARM AND HOUSEHOLD.

CHAPTER I.

Socrates teaches Critobulus that œconomy is an art which is shown in the management of households and estates, whether our own or those of others; that goods are whatever a person may use in such a way as to gain advantage from them; and that if some meet with loss instead of profit from the use of them, the fault lies in their own misconduct.

1. I ONCE heard Socrates[1] also discoursing on the management of a household, after the following manner: "Tell me," said he, "Critobulus,[2] is domestic management the name of an art, as that of healing, or of working in brass, or of building?" "It appears so to me," said Critobulus. 2. "And as we can specify concerning these arts, what is the business of each, can we also specify concerning domestic management, what is its business?" "It appears, at least," said Critobulus, "that it is the business of a good householder to regulate his

[1] Ἤκουσα δέ ποτε αὐτοῦ. Xenophon commences thus in allusion to what he had previously written concerning Socrates. He begins all his works thus abruptly, and without preface, except the Cyropædia and the treatise de Re Equestri.

[2] Critobulus the son of Crito, a very rich man, was one of the familiar associates of Socrates, as appears not only from this book, especially c. 3, sect. 7, but from Mem. Soc. ii. 6; i. 3. 8, and from the Symposium, especially c. 4, sect. 27. *Breitenbach.*

house well." 3. "And as to another man's house," said Socrates, "if the owner should intrust it to him, might he not be able, if he pleased, to regulate it as well as his own? He who is skilled in building can do for another equally well what he can do for himself; and surely he who is skilled in domestic management may act similarly." "It appears so to me, Socrates." 4. "Is it possible then," said, Socrates, "for one who knows this art, and happens to have no property of his own, to earn money by managing the house of another, as an architect earns money by building a house?" "Yes, doubtless," said Critobulus, "he might earn a large sum of money, if, taking a house under his charge, he can fulfil the duties which it requires, and augment the value of it by adding largely to its resources."

5. "But what is it that the term house gives us to understand? Is it the same as the mere building, or is whatever a man possesses, besides the mere building, included under the term house?" "It seems to me," replied Critobulus, "that everything a person has, even though it be not in the same country with the possessor, is comprehended under the term house,[1] or personal property." 6. "Have not, then, some persons enemies?" "Certainly; some have very many." "Shall we, therefore, say that enemies are the property of those persons?" "It would be ridiculous," answered Critobulus, "if a person who increases the enemies of another, should receive pay for increasing them." "I asked the question," said Socrates, "because it seemed settled between us that a man's house, or estate, is whatever he has." "Assuredly," returned Critobulus, "whatever good a man has is his property, or a portion of his goods; but, by Jupiter, if he has anything hurtful, I do not reckon it among his goods."

7. "You seem, then," said Socrates, "to mean by goods something serviceable to the owner." "Most certainly," rejoined Critobulus; "for what does him injury I regard as a nuisance, rather than a part of his goods." 8. "If, then, a man buy a horse,[2] and does not know how to manage him, but falls off him, and receives some injury, is the horse not a part of his goods?" "Not if goods are something service-

[1] Οἶκος, in the sense of estate, or personal property.
[2] See Mem. Soc. ii. 3. 7.

able." "Neither, then, is land part of a man's goods, if he cultivates it in such a manner as to suffer by its cultivation." "Land certainly cannot be called part of a man's goods, if, instead of supporting him, it brings him nothing but hunger."

9. "So, then, with regard to sheep, if a man, from not knowing how to manage sheep, suffers loss by keeping them, the sheep would not be a portion of his goods." "It seems to me that they would not." "You, then, as it appears, consider goods as what is profitable; but what is hurtful you do not consider as goods." "Exactly so."

10. "The same things, then," continued Socrates, "are goods to him who knows how to make use of them, but not goods to him who does not know; thus flutes will be goods to him who knows how to play properly upon them, but to him who does not know they will no more be goods than worthless pebbles are goods; unless indeed he sells them." 11. "So it appears to me," rejoined Critobulus, "that flutes will be goods to those who are ignorant of their use, if they sell them, but not while they merely possess them; and thus our reasoning proceeds consistently, since it was laid down that goods are what is serviceable; for to such persons as those to whom we alluded, flutes are not goods (since they are of no service), but, when sold, become goods." 12. To this Socrates rejoined, "If indeed the owner knows how to sell them; but if he sells them to another person who does not know how to use them, they will not be goods even when they are sold, according to your reasoning." "You appear to intimate, that not even money itself is to be reckoned among a person's goods, unless he knows how to use it." 13. "And you appear to agree with me, when you say that goods are things by which a person may be profited. If, for example, a man should make use of his money to get a mistress, and should, by her means, bring himself into a worse condition, bodily, mentally, and in his household affairs, how could it be said that his money was at all profitable to him?" "By no means; unless indeed we say that hyoscyamus, as it is called, is a profitable article to possess, a herb of which those who eat are driven mad." "Money, then, if its possessor does not know how to use it, may be thus excluded, Critobulus, from being numbered among goods.

14. "But as to friends," continued Socrates, "if a person

knows how to use them, so as to receive profit from them, what shall we say that they are?" "Goods, by Jupiter," said Critobulus, "and much more so than oxen, if at least they are more serviceable than oxen." 15. "Enemies also, then, according to your argument, are goods to him who is able to extract profit from enemies." "It appears so to me." "It is the part of a good manager of property, then, to know how to deal with his enemies in such a way as to derive profit from them." "Most certainly." "True; for you see, my dear Critobulus, how many families, as well of private individuals as of princes, have been improved in condition by war."

16. "This point seems to me to be very well settled, Socrates," said Critobulus; "but what can we think when we see persons who have knowledge and resources by which they might with exertion improve their property, but perceive that they are unwilling to do so, and that their qualifications are in consequence of no profit to them? Can we say anything else than that their qualifications are not goods to them, not even possessions of the least value?" 17. "Do you mean to speak of slaves, my dear Critobulus?" said Socrates. "Not I indeed, by Jove," replied he; "but there are some among those who are esteemed noble, of whom I see that part are acquainted with the arts of war, and part with those of peace, which arts, however, they will not exercise, because, as I suppose, they are without masters to compel them." 18. "How can they be without masters," said Socrates, "when, desiring to prosper, and wishing to do something from which they may derive profit, they are still hindered from doing so by those who rule them?" "And who are they that rule them," asked Critobulus, "for they are nowhere to be seen?" 19. "By Jove," replied Socrates, "they are so far from being nowhere to be seen, that they may be seen everywhere; and that they are most pernicious rulers, is well known to yourself, if you believe idleness, and effeminacy of mind, and carelessness, to be vices. 20. There are also certain deceitful mistresses that sway them, pretending to be goddesses of pleasure, such as gaming and frivolous social gratifications, which, in process of time, make it evident even to the victims of their deceptions that they are but pains disguised in the garb of pleasures; and these, through their influence over their votaries, prevent them from applying to useful occupations." 21. "Yet

others, Socrates," said Critobulus, "are not hindered by such tyrants from exerting themselves, but apply with the utmost vigour to work, and to contrive means of increasing their incomes; and nevertheless they waste their property, and become involved in difficulties." 22. "So it is," said Socrates, "for these also are slaves, and slaves of extremely troublesome mistresses, some being devoted to the luxuries of the table, some to licentiousness, some to intoxication, some to foolish and expensive objects of ambition, which exercise such cruel sway over those whom they get under their power, that, as long as they see them in vigour and able to work, they compel them to bring whatever they gain to expend upon their desires; but when they find them unable to work, through old age, they leave them to spend their declining days in misery, and endeavour to make slaves of others. 23. But we ought to fight for our liberty against such tyrants, Critobulus, not less strenuously than against those who endeavour to enslave us by arms. Enemies in war, who are honourable and generous, have obliged many nations, after they have subdued them, to improve in character under the influence of gentle correction, and have led them to pass the rest of their lives in greater comfort; but tyrannical passions never cease to harass the bodies and minds and estates of men, as long as[1] they exercise any influence over them."

CHAPTER II.

Critobulus requesting to be taught by what means he may increase his property, which fortune had granted him in sufficient abundance, Socrates jocosely replies that he himself was rich, and Critobulus very poor, an assertion which he proceeds to prove. Being again asked to give some instruction on the management of an estate, he says that he is inexperienced in such matters, but offers to refer Critobulus to certain persons who are skilled in them.

1. AFTER these observations of Socrates, Critobulus spoke to the following effect: "On such points I think that what I

[1] Ἕστ' ἄν.] It signifies not only *donec, usque dum*, but also *quamdiu*. See Kühner ad Mem. Soc. iii. 5, 6. See also Mem. Soc. i. 1. 18; Anab. iii. 1. 19; Cyrop. v. 4. 8; Rep. Lac. c. 5, sect. 3; de Re Equest. c. 11, sect. 9. *Breitenbach.*

have heard from you is extremely satisfactory; but when I examine myself, I seem to feel convinced that I am sufficiently master over such inclinations; so that if you would advise me by what course of conduct I may improve my domestic resources, I do not think that I should be impeded by the seductions of those tyrannical mistresses, as you call them. Impart to me confidently, therefore, whatever good admonitions you have to give. Or do you accuse us,[1] my dear Socrates, of being wealthy enough? and do we appear to you to have no need of additional riches?"

2. "If you speak of me as well as yourself, then," said Socrates, "I consider that I require no addition to my means, but am rich enough already; you, however, Critobulus, appear to me to be extremely poor, and, by Jupiter, I sometimes feel very great pity for you." 3. "And how much," rejoined Critobulus with a laugh, "how much, in the name of the gods, my dear Socrates, do you think that your property would fetch if it were sold, and how much mine?" "I think," replied Socrates, "that if I found a good purchaser, my whole property, with my house, would very readily bring me five minæ;[2] yours, I am very certain, would fetch a hundred times as much." 4. "Then, when you know this, do you think that you have no need of more money, and pity me as being poor?" "Yes," said he, "for what I have is sufficient to supply me with all that I need; but for the splendour with which you are surrounded, and to keep up your dignity, not even if thrice as much as what you have were bestowed upon you, would you appear to me to have enough." "How so?" asked Critobulus. 5. "Because, in the first place," said Socrates, in explanation, "I see that a necessity is imposed on you of offering many great sacrifices, or, I suppose, neither gods nor men would be satisfied with you; in the next place, you must entertain many strangers, and entertain them magnificently; and in addition, you have to give feasts, and make presents to your fellow-servants, or find yourself destitute of friends. 6. I observe also that the state requires of you to be at great ex-

[1] Ἡ κατέγνωκας ἡμῶν.] Critobulus is speaking of himself only; and the dignity which he seems to assume by using the plural *we* affords occasion to Socrates to lay hold of the question as applied to himself also, and to pursue the humorous discussion that follows. *Breitenbach.*

[2] About fifteen pounds of our money.

penses in keeping horses,[1] in exhibiting theatrical entertainments,[2] in presiding over the gymnasia,[3] in discharging the duties of a patron; and if a war should arise, I am quite sure that they will lay upon you, in your office of trierarch,[4] so much to pay for men to serve, and other contributions, that you will not easily meet the requirements; and should you be thought to discharge any of your duties inefficiently, I am quite certain that the Athenians will punish you not less severely than if they found you robbing their treasury. 7. In addition to this, I see that you fancy yourself rich, and are but little disposed to use means for getting money; and that you devote your attention to matters of amusement,[5] as having a right to do so. For these reasons I feel compassion for you, fearing that you may fall into some irremediable misfortunes, and be reduced to great poverty. 8. As for myself, even if I were in want, you are aware, I am sure, that there are persons who would assist me; so far that, even if each contributed but very little, they would drown my humble means in a flood of abundance; but your friends, even though they have ampler means for supporting their condition than you have for supporting yours, nevertheless look to you as if to receive benefits from you."

9. "Against these observations, my dear Socrates," said Critobulus, "I have nothing to say; but it is now time for you to act the patron towards me, and prevent me from becoming pitiable in reality." Socrates, on hearing this, said,

[1] It was customary at Athens for the richer sort of citizens to keep horses for chariot-races or for sacred processions. See Xen. Hipp. c. 1, sect. 11. The old man in the Clouds of Aristophanes laments that his property had been wasted in keeping horses. *Bochius.*

[2] These were also duties incumbent on the wealthier Athenians.

[3] Προστατείας.] The metœcs, or sojourners, at Athens, were obliged to put themselves under the protection of some eminent man as a patron. See Pollux, viii. 35.

[4] Those were called trierarchs who were obliged to furnish galleys, equipped for service.

[5] We must understand chiefly *res amatoriæ*. Critobulus is described as *puerorum amans* (Mem. Soc. ii. 6. 29), and is introduced in the Symposium, c. 4, sect. 12, as captivated, though but recently married, with the attractions of Clinias. As the Symposium of Callias took place probably about Olymp. xciii. 3, we may suppose that this dialogue between Socrates and Critobulus was held not very long after that date, though it may be inferred from c. 3, sect. 13, that he had lived some years in the matrimonial state. *Breitenbach.*

"Do you not think, Critobulus, that you are acting very strangely, since, when I said a little while ago that I was rich, you laughed at me, as if I did not know what riches were, and did not cease till you had convinced me, and obliged me to acknowledge that I have not the hundredth part of what you have; and now you desire me to be your patron, and take care that you may not be reduced to utter and undeniable poverty." 10. "It is because I see that you, Socrates, know one thing relating to riches, namely, how to keep a surplus; and I expect, accordingly, that he who has something over out of a little will easily produce a large superabundance out of much." 11. "Do you not remember, then, that just now,[1] in the course of our conversation, when you would not allow me the liberty even of putting in a syllable, you said that horses were not goods to him who did not know how to use horses, nor land, nor cattle, nor money, nor anything else, that a person did not know how to use? Profit, indeed, is derived from such possessions; but how do you think that I can know how to use any of those things of which I never owned even a single one?" 12. "Yet it seemed to me that even if a person had no money, there might nevertheless be in him some knowledge of household management; and what then hinders you from having such knowledge?" "The very same thing, assuredly, that would hinder a man from knowing how to play on the flute, if he has never been in possession of any flutes of his own, and no other person has allowed him to learn by playing upon his. 13. Such is the case with me in respect to the management of household property; for I have never been myself in possession of any property of my own, as a means of learning, nor has any other person ever offered me his to manage, except that you now express a desire to intrust me with yours. But consider that those who are learning to play on the harp spoil their harps at first; and in like manner I, if I were to attempt to learn the management of property by making experiments on yours, might perhaps bring all your possessions to nothing."

14. To this Critobulus replied, "You are strenuously endeavouring to escape, Socrates, from giving me any assistance to sustain my necessary business with greater ease." "No, by Jupiter," rejoined Socrates, "not I; for I will most willingly

[1] C. 1, sect. 8.

communicate to you whatever I can. 15. But I think, at the same time, that if you had come to me for fire, and if, having none myself, I had directed you to a place where you would get it, you would not have blamed me. Or, if you asked water of me when I had none, and I directed you whither to go for it, I know that you would not have found fault with me for doing so. Or if you wished to learn music from me, and I mentioned to you persons who were far more skilful in music than myself, and would be thankful to you for taking lessons from them, what objection would you make to my acting in such a manner?" "I should be able to make no reasonable objection," my dear Socrates. 16. "I shall therefore point out to you, Critobulus, other persons much better skilled than myself in the matters which you are solicitous to learn from me; for I admit that it has been an object with me to discover which of the people in the city are the most skilful in their several pursuits; 17. since, observing that of those who were engaged in the same occupations, some were in the greatest poverty, and others extremely rich, I wondered, and thought it an inquiry worthy of consideration to discover what the cause was. 18. Examining into matters, accordingly, I found that affairs took a perfectly natural course; for I saw that those who did their business heedlessly suffered for their misconduct, while I learned that those who applied to their duties with steadiness and judgment,[1] despatched them with greater expedition, and ease, and profit. By learning, therefore, if you think proper, from such persons, I consider that, if the gods are not unfavourable to you, you may become a very able man of business."

[1] Γνωμῇ συντεταμένῃ.] *Intento animo.* Some copies have συντεταγμένῃ.

CHAPTER III.

Critobulus still urges Socrates to give him instructions how to improve his property; and Socrates recommends him to study the conduct of those who have managed their business with judgment and to advantage. He reminds him how many have prospered, or come to poverty, by different courses of proceeding. He offers to introduce him to skilful professors of other arts besides that of agriculture.

1. CRITOBULUS, on hearing these observations, said, "Now, my dear Socrates, I will never let you go until you have made known to me what you have promised me in the presence of our friends here."[1] "What if I should show you, then, Critobulus, first of all," said Socrates, "that some people build useless houses at very great expense, and that others, at much less expense, construct houses having every convenience, shall I not be thought to have shown you one of the great concerns of household management?" "Certainly," replied Critobulus. 2. "And what if I should show you, after this, that which is naturally consequent upon it, that some people who possess abundance of household necessaries of all kinds have it not in their power to use them, nor even know whether they are in safety, and on this account suffer great annoyance themselves, and cause great annoyance to their servants, while others, who have not more furniture, but even far less, have whatever they want always ready for use." 3. "Is anything else, then, the cause of this, Socrates, than that with the one class of persons everything is thrown down as chance may direct, while with the others everything is kept arranged in its place?" "Such is the case assuredly," said Socrates, "and their things are arranged, not in a place chosen at hazard, but where propriety suggests." "You seem to speak of this also," said Critobulus, "as an element in the knowledge of household management." 4. "What, again, if I should show you," continued Socrates, "that in some places all the slaves are tied up, so to speak, and yet frequently run away, while in other places

[1] Socrates was constantly attended by some of his friends, who wished to gather instruction from his discourse; and we must not be surprised that they took no part in many of the dialogues at which they were present. Thus Xenophon, at the beginning of this book, and in several passages of the Memorabilia, signifies that he was present at conversations of Socrates, but records no observations of his own. *Weiske.*

they are left at liberty, and are willing alike to work and to stay with their masters, should I not be thought, in mentioning this, to bring to your notice something worthy of regard in household management?" "Yes, by Jupiter," replied Critobulus, "something extremely worthy of regard." 5. "And what if I show you that of those who cultivate similar land, some complain that they are utterly ruined and starved by their farming, while others have everything that they want in abundance and excellence?" "Such is indeed the case," said Critobulus; "for perhaps the first sort of agriculturists spend their money not merely on objects that are necessary, but on such as bring destruction alike on the master and on his estate." 6. "Perchance there are some such," said Socrates; "but I do not now speak of them, but of persons who, professing to practise agriculture, cannot command resources even for their necessary expenditure." "And what is the cause of this, Socrates?" said Critobulus. "I will bring you among them," answered Socrates, "and you shall understand by seeing for yourself." "Very well," replied Critobulus, "if, at least, I can."

7. "It is therefore very proper," proceeded Socrates, "that you should examine yourself, to ascertain whether you will be able to understand. I have known you[1] rise very early in the morning, and go a very long way, to see actors in comedy, and I have heard you press me very strongly to go with you to the exhibition; but you never invited me to such a sight as that of which I am speaking." "Doubtless therefore, my dear Socrates, I appear ridiculous to you." 8. "But to yourself, by Jupiter, you ought to appear far more ridiculous. Supposing I show that some men, by keeping horses, have been reduced to the want even of necessaries, while others, by the same means, become very wealthy, and exult in their gains?" "I see such persons myself, and know men of both sorts, yet I am not at all the more in the number of those who get gain?" 9. "No; for you look at them as you look at actors in tragedy and comedy, not, as I think, that you may become a poet, but that you may find pleasure from seeing and hearing. Perhaps this, indeed, is reasonable enough (for you have no

[1] Σοι σύνοιδα.] The verb σύνοιδα indicates that a person knows a thing for certain, and as an eye-witness. See Wolf ad Dem. Lept. c. 12. *Breitenbach.*

desire to be a poet); but since you are obliged to use horses, do you not think that you act foolishly, if you do not study not to be quite ignorant of that occupation, especially when horses are both good to use and profitable to sell?" 10. "Do you wish me to become a colt-breaker, my dear Socrates?" "By no means, any more than to bring up farm-labourers by buying them when children. But there are certain ages, as well of horses as of men, which are immediately profitable, and advance in improvement. I can also show that some men have so managed their wives, as to find in them fellow-helpers in improving their fortunes, whilst others have dealt with them in such a way that they have in a great degree ruined them." 11. "But in these cases, my dear Socrates, ought we to blame the husband or the wife?" "If a sheep," replied Socrates, "is in ill condition, we generally blame the shepherd; if a horse is mischievous, we impute the fault to the groom; and as to a wife, if, after being taught what is right, she conducts herself badly, perhaps she ought justly to bear the blame; but if her husband does not teach her what is right and proper, but exacts service from her while she is ignorant of what she ought to do, would he not justly be visited with condemnation? 12. But by all means tell us the truth, Critobulus (for we are all friends who are here), is there any one to whom you intrust a greater number of important affairs than to your wife?" "There is no one," replied Critobulus. "And is there any one with whom you hold fewer discussions than with your wife?" "If there is any one, there are certainly not many."[1] 13. "Did you marry her when she was quite young, or, at least, when she had seen and heard as little of things as was well possible?" "Certainly I did." "It would then be much more surprising, if she knew anything of what she ought to say or do, than if she fell into mistakes." 14. "But as to those who, you say, have had good wives, my dear Socrates, did they themselves instruct them?" "There is nothing like looking at examples;[2] and I will make you friends with Aspasia,[3] who will give you in-

[1] Because his wife was already instructed in what she had to do; so that there was no need of discussing points with her.

[2] Ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι.] *Exempla considerare.* Socrates says this as preparatory to the introduction of Ischomachus. *Breitenbach.*

[3] There seems to be no particular reason for mentioning Aspasia here, as no further allusion is made to her. Bornemann, Weiske, and Reisig

formation on this point more knowingly than I. 15. But I consider that a wife, who is a good partner in household management, has equal influence with her husband for their common prosperity. Resources come into the house for the most part by the exertions of the husband, but the larger portion of them is expended under the management of the wife, and, if affairs be well ordered, the estate is improved; but if they are conducted badly, the property is diminished. 16. I think that I could also point out to you, if you think it requisite, persons skilled in other arts, who practise each of them with reputation."

CHAPTER IV.

Critobulus declines to learn more pursuits than one; and Socrates approves of his resolution. Sedentary and indoor occupations debilitate the mind and body. Military or agricultural pursuits seem to be the only ones suited for Critobulus; Socrates supports them by the example of the king of Persia. An anecdote of Cyrus the Younger and Lysander.

1. "But what occasion is there for you, my dear Socrates," asked Critobulus, "to call my attention to all kinds of arts? for neither is it easy to procure persons who practise all sorts of arts competently, nor is it possible for any single individual to become skilled in all; but in regard to those which are thought most honourable, and which would be most becoming to me if I practised them, give me some information concerning them and the persons who are engaged in them; and while you instruct me, assist me yourself, as far as you can, to understand." 2. "You say well, Critobulus," replied Socrates; "for those arts which are called handicrafts are objectionable,[1] and are indeed justly held in little repute in communities; for they weaken the bodies of those who work at them or attend to them, by compelling them to sit and to live indoors; some of them, too, to pass whole days by the fire; and when the body becomes effeminate, the mind loses its strength.

think that she is mentioned as an instructress ironically. See Weiske's note on Mem. Soc. ii. 6. 36. Συστήσω σοι Ἀσπασίαν, says Breitenbach, is *Aspasiam tibi conciliabo.*

[1] Ἐπίῤῥητοι.] Spoken against; objected to; regarded with little favour.

3. Such mechanical occupations also, as they are termed, leave those who practise them no leisure to attend to the interests of their friends or the commonwealth; so that men of that class seem unsuited alike to be of advantage to their connexions, and to be defenders of their country. In some states, indeed, and especially in such as seem excellent in war, no citizen is allowed to engage in these handicraft employments."

4. "In what sort of employments then, Socrates, would you recommend me to engage?" asked Critobulus. "Ought we to be ashamed," replied Socrates, "to imitate the king of the Persians? For they say that he considers the art of agriculture, and that of war, to be among the most honourable and necessary occupations, and pays the greatest attention to both of them." 5. Critobulus, on hearing this, said, "Do you then, my dear Socrates, believe that the king of the Persians unites the pursuit of husbandry with the other objects of his care?" "If we consider the matter, Critobulus, in the following manner, we may perhaps satisfy ourselves whether he gives it any portion of his attention. We are all aware that he attends diligently to military affairs, because, from whatever nations he receives tribute, he has appointed to the governors of them respectively for how many horsemen, and bowmen, and slingers, and targeteers each must furnish maintenance, a number that may be sufficient to keep the people under his command in awe, and serve as defenders to the country if enemies invade it. 6. In addition to these troops, the king maintains garrisons in the several fortresses; and the governor, to whom the commission is given, furnishes pay for these garrisons; while the king holds a review every year of the mercenaries and other forces that are required to appear in arms, collecting them all together, except the troops in garrison, in the place where they are ordered to assemble, when he himself inspects those that are near his own residence, and sends trustworthy officers to view such as are at a distance. 7. And whatever commanders of garrisons, captains of thousands, and satraps,[1] are found to have the required complement of troops, and exhibit them equipped with proper horses and arms, he distinguishes such governors with honours, and enriches them

[1] The difference between these three kind of officers may be understood by a reference to Cyrop. viii. 6. 1 and 3. *Schneider.* The commanders of garrisons and captains of thousands were subject to the satraps.

with valuable presents; but such of the governors as he finds either neglecting the garrisons, or guilty of peculation, he punishes with great severity, degrading them from their posts, and putting other officers in their places. To military affairs, therefore, as he pursues such a course of conduct, we must unquestionably allow that he pays great attention. 8. But, besides, whatever part of his dominions he rides through and surveys in person, he observes the condition of it; and whatever part he does not inspect in person, he ascertains the state of it by sending thither trustworthy commissioners; and to such of the satraps as he finds exhibit their provinces well inhabited, with the soil well cultivated, and stocked with trees and fruits such as the ground is fitted to produce, he gives additional territory, graces them with presents, and distinguishes them with seats of honour; but such as he finds to have their provinces ill cultivated, or thinly inhabited, whether through their harsh treatment of the people, or through tyranny or neglect, he punishes and deprives of their commands, and appoints others in their room. 9. Acting thus, does he seem to have less care that his land may be well cultivated by the inhabitants, than that it may be well defended by his garrisons? There are indeed officers appointed by him for both purposes; but not the same; for some overlook the inhabitants and tillers of the ground, and collect tribute from them, and others have charge of the armed forces. 10. And if the overseer of the forces does not sufficiently protect the provinces, the overseer of the inhabitants and tillers of the ground brings an accusation against him, representing that the people cannot cultivate the land for want of proper protection; but if, while the overseer of the forces secures peace to the cultivators, the other overseer occasions the provinces to be thin of people and ill cultivated, the overseer of the forces, on his part, lays an accusation against him. 11. For those who cultivate the ground inefficiently will neither maintain the garrisons, nor be able to pay their tribute. But when a satrap is appointed, he attends to both these objects."[1]

[1] To the payment of troops in the garrisons and the payment of tribute to the king. "We see," says Breitenbach, "that the satrap, as described here, differs somewhat from the satrap whose duties are specified, Cyrop. viii. 6. 1; and that there was in every province an ἄρχων or governor-general, but not in every province a satrap."

12. "If the king, then," rejoined Critobulus, "acts in this manner, Socrates, he appears to me to pay no less attention to agricultural than to warlike pursuits." 13. "But in addition to all this," continued Socrates, "in whatever provinces he resides, and wheresoever he travels, he takes care that there may be gardens, such as are called *paradeisoi*,[1] stocked with everything good and valuable that the soil will produce; and in these gardens he himself spends the greatest part of his time, whenever the season of the year does not prevent him." 14. "Assuredly, then, Socrates," observed Critobulus, "the people must of necessity take care that, where the king himself resides, the gardens be excellently stored with trees and all other choice productions that the earth affords." 15. "Some relate, too, Critobulus," added Socrates, "that when the king distributes rewards, he calls forward first those who have distinguished themselves in war, (because it would be of no use to till a great quantity of ground, unless there were soldiers to defend it,) and afterwards those who have kept their lands in the best order, and rendered them most productive, observing that even brave men would not be able to live, unless there were tillers of the ground. 16. It is said also that Cyrus,[2] who was a most illustrious prince, remarked on one occasion to those who were called to receive rewards, that he himself might justly receive both sorts of presents; for he excelled, he said, both in regulating his province, and in defending it when it was regulated." 17. "Cyrus, therefore, Socrates," said Critobulus, "if he made this observation, prided himself not less on rendering his province fertile, and in keeping it in order, than on his ability in war." 18. "It seems likely indeed," said Socrates, "that if Cyrus had lived, he would have proved a very excellent king; and of this probability the following indication, as well as many others, has been afforded, that when he set out to contend with his brother for the kingdom, not a single soldier, as is said, deserted from Cyrus to the king, while many myriads deserted from the

[1] The young student may be told that *παράδεισος* is not a Greek word, as Suidas supposes, who derives it from the verb *δεύειν*, but is of Persian origin, as is rightly intimated by Pollux, ix. 13. Concerning the nature of these *παράδεισοι*, or parks, the reader may consult A. Gell. ii. 20; Plin. H. N. viii. 25; Q. Curt. viii. 1—11. *Reisig.*

[2] Cyrus the Younger. He is called *βασιλεὺς* in the text, as being, says Weiske, the son of a king, and enjoying royal honours in his province.

king to Cyrus. 19. I regard it indeed as a great proof of merit in a general when men follow him willingly, and are ready to stand by him in danger; and around Cyrus, as long as he was alive, his friends continued to fight, and were all killed with him when he died, contending over his body, except Ariæus, who happened to be posted in the left wing. 20. It is this Cyrus that is said to have paid Lysander, when he came with presents to him from the allies, many marks of civility (as Lysander himself once stated in conversation with a friend of his at Megara), and to have shown him (as Lysander related) his park at Sardis. 21. When Lysander expressed his admiration of it, observing how fine the trees were, how regularly they were planted, how straight the rows of them were, and how elegantly all the rows formed angles with one another, while many sweet odours attended on Lysander and Cyrus as they walked about;—admiring all this, he said, 'I look with astonishment on all these trees on account of their beauty, but am still more astonished at the art of him who measured out the ground, and arranged them all for you.' 22. Cyrus, on hearing this, was delighted, and said, 'It was I, let me say, Lysander, that measured the ground and arranged all the trees myself; and there are some of them,' he added, 'that I planted with my own hand.' 23. Lysander, as he told us, looked at Cyrus, and contemplating the beauty of the robes which he had on, and perceiving the perfume that issued from them, and the splendour of the necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments which he wore, said, 'What is it that you tell me, Cyrus? Did you, with your own hands, plant any of these trees?' 24. 'Do you wonder at this, Lysander?' replied Cyrus; 'I swear to you by Mithras, that, whenever I am in health, I never dine till I have put myself into a perspiration by pursuing some military or agricultural occupation, or by contending for superiority in some exercise of a similar nature.'[1] I, indeed, added Lysander, when I heard him say this, took him by the hand, and said, 'You appear to me, Cyrus, to be deservedly fortunate; for you have your good fortune from being a man of merit.'

[1] I read τοιούτων γέ τι, with Breitenbach. Dindorf's text, and most others, have ἀεὶ οὖν γέ τι.

CHAPTER V.

Socrates continues to discourse of agriculture, and shows that the wealthiest and noblest of men have given their attention to it, as it strengthens the mind and body, improves the estate, and conduces to a virtuous course of life. Critobulus makes some observations on the casualties to which agricultural occupations are exposed; Socrates recommends, in reply, that the gods should be carefully worshipped and propitiated.

1. "This anecdote I relate to you, Critobulus," continued Socrates, "to show that not even men of the most exalted fortune are contented to abstain from agriculture; for the pursuit of it seems to be at once a means of enjoyment and of increasing their resources; and it is also an exercise for the body, such as to strengthen it for discharging the duties that become a man of honourable birth. 2. In the first place, the earth yields the food on which men live to those who cultivate it, and produces in addition things from which they receive gratification. 3. Besides these, it supplies the flowers which decorate altars and statues, and with which men adorn themselves, accompanied with the most pleasing odours and appearances; sauces and animal food,[1] too, it partly produces and partly nourishes, in great abundance (for the art of managing cattle is connected with farming); so that men have enough to propitiate the gods by sacrificing, and to use themselves. 4. Yet, though it offers blessings in the greatest plenty, it does not permit us to take them in idleness, but requires us to accustom ourselves to endure the colds of winter and the heats of summer; to those whom it exercises in manual labour, it gives an increase of strength; and in such as only oversee the cultivation of it,[2] it produces a manly vigour, by requiring them to rise early in the morning, and forcing them to move about with activity; for in the country, as well as in the city, the most important matters are always done at a stated sea-

[1] Ὄψα.] Under this term was included whatever was eaten with bread, whether flesh, fish, or herbs.

[2] Τοὺς δὲ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ γεωργοῦντας.] By these words we are to understand those who superintend their work as done by slaves or other labourers, in opposition to *αὐτουργοί*, "workers with their own hands." *Weiske.*

son.[1] 5. Again, if a man wishes to serve his country[2] as a horse-soldier, farming offers the greatest convenience for keeping a horse, or if as a foot-soldier, it keeps the body robust; and it also affords some incitement to exertion in hunting over the land,[3] supplying facilities for the keeping of dogs, and supporting beasts of game. 6. The horses and dogs, moreover, which are kept by farming, benefit the farm in return; the horse, by carrying his master early in the morning to the scene of his labours, and furnishing him the means of returning late; the dogs, by preventing the wild beasts from destroying the fruits of the earth and the cattle, and by affording security even in the most solitary places.

7. "The possession of land also stimulates agriculturists, in some degree, to defend their country in arms, as the ground produces its fruits exposed to all,[4] for the strongest to take possession of them. 8. What occupation, too, renders men more fit for running, and throwing, and leaping, than agriculture? What employment offers men greater gratification for their labour? What art welcomes the student of it with greater pleasure, offering him that approaches, indeed, the means of gaining whatever he desires? What occupation receives strangers with richer hospitality? 9. Where is there greater facility for passing the winter amid plenty of fires, and warm baths, than on the farm? Or where can we spend the summer more agreeably, by streams, amid breezes, and under shade, than in the fields? 10. What other occupation offers more pleasing first-fruits to the gods, or richer banquets on festival days? What pursuit is more comfortable for a man's servants, more delightful to his wife, more attractive to his children, or more gratifying to his friends? 11. I should

[1] *Ἐπικαιριώτατα πράξεις.*] Weiske understands *res maximè opportunæ* or *utiles;* Schneider, *res præcipuæ.* These are to be done *ἐν ὥρᾳ, ἐταῖο, certo, opportunissimo tempore.*

[2] *Ἀρήγειν τῇ πόλει.*] As was the duty of the Athenian citizen, whether he chose to enrol himself in the cavalry or the infantry. *Schneider.*

[3] Breitenbach reads, with Schneider and Weiske, *θήραις τε ἐπιφιλοπονεῖσθαι συνεπαίρει τι ἡ γῆ,* "the land affords some incitement for exertion in hunting." Dindorf, whom I follow, has *φιλοπονεῖσθαι—τῇ γῇ, γεωργία* being the nom. case to *συνεπαίρει.*

[4] *Ἐν μέσῳ.*] *In medio,* i. e. lying open and exposed to invaders. Compare Aristotle, Pol. c. 2: *Μόνων γὰρ τούτων τὰ κτήματα ἔξω τῶν ἑρυμάτων ἐστίν. Breitenbach.*

be surprised, for my own part, if any man of liberal feelings has met with any possession more pleasing than a farm, or discovered any pursuit more attractive, or more conducive to the means of life, than agriculture.

12. "The earth also kindly teaches men justice, at least such as are able to learn; for it is those who treat her best that she recompenses with the most numerous benefits.

13. "If on any occasion, moreover, those who are employed in agriculture are forced to quit their occupations by a multitude of invading enemies, yet, as they have been bred to vigorous and manly exertion, and are well exercised in mind and body, they may, if the gods are not unfavourable, make incursions into the lands of those who impede their occupations, and carry off booty on which they may support themselves. Frequently, indeed, in war, it is safer to seek a livelihood with hostile weapons than with instruments of agriculture.

14. "The cultivation of the ground, too, instructs men to assist one another; for as we must make attacks on enemies with the aid of men, so it is with aid of men that agriculture must be conducted. 15. He, therefore, that would till his ground properly must provide himself with labourers both ready to work and willing to obey him; and he that leads an army against an enemy must take similar precautions, rewarding those who act as good soldiers ought to act, and punishing those who are neglectful of discipline. 16. A husbandman must encourage his workmen as frequently as a general exhorts his soldiers; and slaves require favourable prospects to be held out to them not less than free-men, and indeed even more, that they may be willing to stay with their masters. 17. He also said well, who pronounced agriculture to be the mother and nurse of other arts; for when agriculture flourishes, all other pursuits are in full vigour; but when the ground is forced to lie barren, other occupations are almost stopped, as well by land as by sea."

18. When Critobulus had heard these remarks to an end, he said, "You seem to me, my dear Socrates, to say all this with great reason; but you have not observed that there are connected with agriculture many things which it is impossible for man to foresee; for sometimes hail, frost, drought, violent rains, mildew, and often indeed other causes, deprive us of the fruit of what has been excellently contrived and arranged;

and sometimes disease comes to carry off, in the most pitiable manner, cattle that have been bred with the utmost care." 19. Socrates, listening to this, said, "I thought that you were aware, Critobulus, that the gods are disposers of affairs in agriculture not less than of those in war; and you see, I suppose, that those who are engaged in the field of battle propitiate the gods before they come to an engagement, and consult them, with the aid of sacrifices and auguries, to learn what they ought or ought not to do. 20. And do you think that there is less necessity to seek the favour of the gods with regard to the proceedings of agriculture? For be assured," added he, "that wise men worship the gods with a view to the preservation of their fruits, as well succulent as dry,[1] and of their oxen, horses, sheep, and all their other possessions."

CHAPTER VI.

Critobulus admits that the gods ought to be propitiated. Socrates recapitulates what he had said of the excellences of agriculture. Critobulus inquires how it is that some persons are enriched, and others ruined, by agricultural occupations; Socrates replies, that the best way to satisfy him on this point will be to introduce him to Ischomachus, an excellent husbandman, and a man of strict integrity and honour.

1. "THIS also you appear to say with great reason, my dear Socrates," said Critobulus, "desiring us to commence every work with the gods in our favour, as the gods are the directors of affairs of peace, no less than of those of war. In such a way, accordingly, we will make it our care to act. But do you, returning to the point at which you ceased to speak of the management of a house, proceed to bring to a conclusion that which follows upon what you said; as I seem to myself, since I heard your observations on the subject, to see somewhat better than before what I must do to increase my means of living." 2. "What if we should first go back, then," said Socrates, "to those particulars on which we agreed as we went over them, that we may proceed also, if we find it at all possible, to go through the remaining points so as to agree upon them?" 3. "Very well," said Critobulus; "for

[1] Grapes and olives; wheat and other grain.

as it is gratifying to persons who have pecuniary accounts between them to reach the conclusion of them without disagreement, so it will be pleasant for us, who are pursuing a chain of reasoning between us, to go through the various points on which we speak with unanimity."

4. "The management of a house or estate, then," proceeded Socrates, "was decided between us to be the name of an art or science. This art or science was defined to be that by which men may increase their houses or estates; and a man's house or estate was defined to be the same as his whole possessions or goods. A man's goods we agreed to be whatever is profitable for his well-being; and profitable things were defined to be all things that a person knows how to use. 5. We agreed that it was impossible to learn all arts, and determined to exclude from our favour, in common with communities in general, those employments which are termed handicrafts, as they appear to diminish bodily strength, and cramp the powers of the mind. 6. We considered that the plainest proof of this would be, if, when enemies invade a country, we should divide the husbandmen and artisans into two bodies, and ask each of them separately whether they would be inclined to guard the open country, or to retreat from the fields to defend the fortresses. 7. For under such circumstances we thought that those who were employed about the land would give their voice for defending it, while the artisans would vote for not fighting, but for sitting still, as they had been brought up without either working hard or running into danger. 8. We were of opinion, too, that agriculture, for an honourable and high-minded man, is the best of all the occupations and arts by which men procure the means of living. 9. For it is a pursuit that appeared to us most easy to learn, and most pleasant to practise; it seemed to us to put the bodies of men in the fairest and most vigorous condition, and to be far from giving such constant occupation to their minds as to prevent them from attending to the interests of their friends or their country. 10. Agriculture also was thought by us to afford some incitement to those who pursue it to become courageous, as it produces and sustains what is necessary for human life without the walls of fortresses.[1]

[1] See note on c. 5, sect. 7

For these reasons, moreover, this mode of life appeared to us to be the most honourable in the estimation of governments in general, as well as because it seems to render the citizens most virtuous and best affected towards the commonwealth."

11. "That it is extremely honourable, and becoming, and pleasant, indeed, Socrates," said Critobulus, "to derive the means of life from agriculture, I think that I am quite sufficiently convinced; but as to what you said a while ago, that you understood the reasons why some men manage their land in such a way as to have abundance of whatever they need from the culture of it, and why others labour on it in so different a manner that the cultivation of it is profitless to them, I should like to hear from you the causes of both results, that I may pursue what is beneficial, and avoid what is detrimental." 12. "What then if I should relate to you at length,[1] Critobulus," said Socrates, "a conversation which I formerly held with a man who appeared to me to be really one of those to whom the epithets of *fair* and *good*[2] are justly applied?" "I should be extremely pleased," said Critobulus, "to hear that conversation, as I myself desire also to become deserving of those epithets." 13. "I will tell you, then," said Socrates, "how I came to visit the man[3]; for a very short time was amply sufficient for me to go round among good carpenters, good workers in brass, good painters and statuaries, and other persons of that kind, and to view such works of theirs as were esteemed beautiful. 14. But in order to learn the characters of those who love the honourable distinction of being *fair and good*, and to ascertain by what course of conduct they deserved to be called so, I felt an extraordinary desire to converse with one of them. 15. And, in the first place, as the epithet *fair* was added to that of *good*, I accosted whomsoever I observed to be of a handsome person, and endeavoured to satisfy myself whether I could anywhere find goodness added to beauty. 16. But such was not always the case; for I felt myself convinced that some of those who were beautiful in form were altogether depraved in mind. I determined there-

[1] Ἐξαρχῆς, from the beginning.
[2] Καλός τε κἀγαθός.
[3] Εἰς τὴν σκέψιν αὐτοῦ.] *Ad invisendum hominem illum.* Dindorf.
[4] Breitenbach reads, ἱκανὸς ἱκανῶς περιελθεῖν τε καὶ, &c, from a happy conjecture of Rost. The old reading was ἱκανῶς (without ἱκανός), which Schneider altered into ἱκανός.

fore on giving up all regard to mere beauty of person, and visiting one of those who were called both *fair* and *good*. 17. As I heard, accordingly, that Ischomachus was called *fair* and *good* by everybody, both men and women, foreigners and natives of the country, I resolved to make it my business to have some conversation with him.

CHAPTER VII.

Socrates relates how he first met with Ischomachus; how he asked him why he was called the *fair* and *good*; and how he learned from him the nature of his occupations and mode of life, and the character of his wife. Dialogue of Ischomachus with his wife, in which all the domestic duties of husband and wife are specified. Honours attendant on a wife who discharges her duties with efficiency and conscientiousness.

1. "OBSERVING him therefore sitting one day in the portico of the temple of Jupiter Eleutherius, I went towards him, and as he seemed to me to be at leisure, sat down near him, and said, 'Why are you, Ischomachus, who are not accustomed to be idle, sitting thus? for in general I see you either doing something, or certainly not altogether wasting your time, in the market-place.' 2. 'Nor would you now see me quite unoccupied, Socrates,' said Ischomachus, 'if I had not made an appointment to wait here for some strangers.' 'But when you have no such engagements,' said I, 'where, in the name of heaven, do you spend your time, and how do you employ yourself? for I have the strongest desire to learn from you what it is you do that you are called *fair* and *good*; since you certainly do not pass your life indoors, nor does your complexion look like that of a man who does so.' 3. Ischomachus, smiling at my inquiry, *what do you do to be called* fair and good, and being pleased at it, as it seemed to me, replied, 'Whether people, when they talk together about me, give me that appellation, I do not know; but certainly when they call upon me as to the *antidosis*[1] of the duties of a trierarch or

[1] There was a law at Athens that if any person were called on to take the duty of trierarch, or any other public office, and could point out any person richer than himself, who ought to have been called upon instead

choragus, no one summons me by the name of *fair and good*, but they designate me plainly as Ischomachus, distinguishing me by the name of my father; and as to what you asked me besides, Socrates, I assuredly do not spend my life indoors; for,' added he, 'my wife is quite capable herself of managing what is to be done in my house.' 4. 'But,' said I, 'Ischomachus, 'I would very gladly be permitted to ask you whether you instructed your wife yourself, so that she might be qualified as she ought to be, or whether, when you received her from her father and mother, she was possessed of sufficient knowledge to manage what belongs to her.' 5. 'And how, my dear Socrates,' said he, 'could she have had sufficient knowledge when I took her, since she came to my house when she was not fifteen years old,[1] and had spent the preceding part of her life under the strictest restraint, in order that she might see as little, hear as little, and ask as few questions as possible?[2] 6. Does it not appear to you to be quite sufficient, if she did but know, when she came, how to take wool and make a garment, and had seen how to apportion the tasks of spinning among the maid-servants? for as to what concerns the appetite,[3] Socrates,' added he, 'which seems to me a most important part of instruction both for a man and for a woman, she came to me extremely well instructed.' 7. 'But as to other things, Ischomachus,' said I, 'did you yourself instruct your wife, so that she should be qualified to attend to the affairs belonging to her?' 'Not, indeed,' replied Ischomachus, 'until I had offered sacrifice, and prayed that it might be my fortune to teach, and hers to learn, what would be best for both of us.' 8. 'Did your wife, then,' said I, 'join with you in offering sacrifice, and in praying for these blessings?' 'Certainly,' answered Ischomachus, 'and she made many

of him, he might summon that citizen either to take the office or to exchange properties with *himself*. This was called *ἀντίδοσις*. See Demosth. c. Mid. c. 17. Wolff, Proleg. ad Lept. p. 123.

[1] Such seems to have been the custom at Athens, though Aristotle, Polit. vii. 16, says that girls could not properly marry before they were eighteen. *Schneider.* See Becker's Charicles, vol. ii. p. 419.

[2] Concerning the way in which the Athenian girls passed their time before marriage, see Becker's Charicles, vol. ii. p. 422, 475. *Breitenbach.* Also Xen. Rep. Lac. c. 1, sect. 3.

[3] Τὰ ἀμφὶ γαστέρα.] These words significantly express the chief virtue of a wife. *Breitenbach.* "La sobriété." *Gail.* Temperance in eating and drinking. Comp. sect. 14. *Weiske.*

vows to the gods that she would be such as she ought to be, and showed plainly that she was not likely to disregard what was taught her.' 9. 'In the name of the gods, Ischomachus, tell me,' said I, 'what you began to teach her first; for I shall have more pleasure in hearing you give this account, than if you were to give me a description of the finest gymnastic or equestrian games.' 10. 'Well, then, Socrates,' returned Ischomachus, 'when she grew familiarized and domesticated with me, so that we conversed freely together, I began to question her in some such way as this: "Tell me, my dear wife, have you ever considered with what view I married you, and with what object your parents gave you to me? 11. For that there was no want of other persons with whom we might have shared our respective beds[1] must, I am sure, be evident to you as well as to me. But when I considered for myself, and your parents for you, whom we might select as the best partner for a house and children, I preferred you, and your parents, as it appears, preferred me, out of those who were possible objects of choice. 12. If, then, the gods should ever grant children to be born to us, we shall then consult together, with regard to them, how we may bring them up as well as possible; for it will be a common advantage to both of us to find them of the utmost service as supporters and maintainers of our old age. 13. At present, however, this is our common household; for I deposit all that I have as in common between us, and you put everything that you have brought into our common stock. Nor is it necessary to consider which of the two has contributed the greater share; but we ought to feel assured that whichsoever of us is the better manager of our common fortune will give the more valuable service." 14. To these remarks, Socrates, my wife replied, "In what respect could I coöperate with you? What power have I? Everything lies with you. My duty, my mother told me, was to conduct myself discreetly. 15. "Yes, by Jupiter, my dear wife," replied I, "and my father told me the same. But it is the part of discreet people, as well husbands as wives, to act in such a manner that their

[1] Ἐκαθεύδομεν ἂν.] We must consider the verb, says Breitenbach, to refer, not to Ischomachus merely, as speaking of himself in the plural, but to both him and his wife; and they were brought together, Ischomachus intimates, for mutual aid.

property may be in the best possible condition, and that as large additions as possible may be made to it by honourable and just means." 16. "And, what do you see," said my wife, "that I can do to assist in increasing our property?" "Endeavour by all means," answered I, "to do in the best possible manner those duties which the gods have qualified you to do, and which custom[1] approves." 17. "And what are they?" asked she. "I consider," replied I, "that they are duties of no small importance, unless indeed the queen bee in a hive is appointed for purposes of small importance. 18. For to me," continued he, '"the gods, my dear wife," said I, "seem certainly to have united that pair of beings, which is called male and female, with the greatest judgment, that they may be in the highest degree serviceable to each other in their connexion. 19. In the first place, the pair are brought together to produce offspring, that the races of animals may not become extinct; and to human beings, at least, it is granted to have supporters for their old age from this union. 20. For human beings, also, their mode of life is not, like that of cattle, in the open air; but they have need, we see, of houses. It is accordingly necessary for those who would have something to bring into their houses to have people to perform the requisite employments in the open air; for tilling, and sowing, and planting, and pasturage are all employments for the open air; and from these employments the necessaries of life are procured. 21 But when these necessaries have been brought into the house, there is need of some one to take care of them, and to do whatever duties require to be done under shelter. The rearing of young children also demands shelter, as well as the preparation of food from the fruits of the earth, and the making of clothes from wool. 22. And as both these sorts of employments, alike those without doors and those within, require labour and care, the gods, as it seems to me," said I, "have plainly adapted the nature of the woman for works and duties within doors, and that of the man for works and duties without doors. 23. For the divinity has fitted the body and mind of the man to be better able to bear cold, and heat, and travelling, and military exercises, so that he has imposed

[1] Νόμος.] *Lex.* Dindorf. But Sturz, in his Lexicon, vol. iii. p. 209 gives it the sense of *mos, consuetudo*, which seems to be more suitable to the passage. See sect. 30.

upon him the work without doors ; and by having formed the body of the woman to be less able to bear such exertions, he appears to me to have laid upon her," said I, "the duties within doors. 24. But knowing that he had given the woman by nature, and laid upon her, the office of rearing young children, he has also bestowed upon her a greater portion of love for her newly-born offspring than on the man. 25. Since, too, the divinity has laid upon the woman the duty of guarding what is brought into the house, he, knowing that the mind, by being timid, is not less adapted for guarding, has given a larger share of timidity to the woman than to the man ; and knowing also that if any one injures him who is engaged in the occupations without, he must defend himself, he has on that account given a greater portion of boldness to the man.[1] 26. But as it is necessary for both alike to give and to receive, he has bestowed memory and the power of attention upon both impartially, so that you cannot distinguish whether the female or the male has the larger portion of them. 27. The power of being temperate[2] also in what is necessary he has conferred in equal measure upon both, and has allowed that whichsoever of the two is superior in this virtue, whether the man or the woman, shall receive a greater portion of the benefit arising from it. 28. But as the nature of both is not fully adapted for all these requirements, they in consequence stand in greater need of aid from one another, and the pair are of greater service to each other, when the one is able to do those things in which the other is deficient. 29. As we know, then, my dear wife," continued I, "what is appointed to each of us by Providence, it is incumbent on us to discharge as well as we can that which each of us has to do.

30. "'The law,[3] too,' I told her,' he proceeded, '"gives its approbation to these arrangements, by uniting the man and the woman; and as the divinity has made them partners, as it were, in their offspring, so the law ordains them to be sharers in household affairs. The law also shows that those things

[1] Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἰσχυρότερον, τὸ δ' ἀσθενέστερον ἐποίησεν, ἵνα τὸ μὲν φυλακτικώτερον ᾖ διὰ τὸν φόβον, κ. τ. λ. Aristot. Œcon. c. 3.

[2] Temperance in eating and drinking I consider to be chiefly meant. *Weiske.*

[3] Νόμος.] Whether this should be rendered "law" or "custom" is not very clear. Gail renders it "loi." Comp. sect. 16.

are more becoming to each which the divinity has qualified each to do with greater facility; for it is more becoming for the woman to stay within doors than to roam abroad, but to the man it is less creditable to remain at home than to attend to things out of doors. 31. And if any one acts contrary to what the divinity has fitted him to do, he will, while he violates the order of things, possibly not escape the notice of the gods, and will pay the penalty whether of neglecting his own duties or of interfering with those of his wife. 32. The queen of the bees," I added, "appears to me to discharge such duties as are appointed her by the divinity." "And what duties," inquired my wife, "has the queen bee to perform, that she should be made an example for the business which I have to do?" 33. "She, remaining within the hive," answered I, "does not allow the bees to be idle, but sends out to their duty those who ought to work abroad; and whatever each of them brings in, she takes cognizance of it and receives it, and watches over the store until there is occasion to use it; and when the time for using it is come, she dispenses to each bee its just due. 34. She also presides over the construction of the cells within, that they may be formed beautifully and expeditiously. She attends, too, to the rising progeny, that they may be properly reared; and when the young bees are grown up, and are fit for work, she sends out a colony of them under some leader taken from among the younger bees."[1] 35. "Will it then be necessary for me," said my wife, "to do such things?" "It will certainly be necessary for you," said I, "to remain at home, and to send out such of the labourers as have to work abroad, to their duties; and over such as have business to do in the house you must exercise a watchful superintendence. 36. Whatever is brought into the house, you must take charge of it; whatever portion of it is required for use you must give out; and whatever should be laid by, you must take account of it and keep it safe, so that the provision stored up for a year, for example, may not be expended in a month. Whenever wool is brought home to you, you must take care that garments be made for those who want them. You must also be careful that the dried provisions

[1] Σὺν τῶν ἐπιγόνων τινὶ ἡγεμόνι.] Breitenbach reads, with some of the old editions, σὺν τῶν ἑπομένων, κ. τ λ., i. e. he says, "under some leader chosen from among those immediately attendant upon her."

may be in a proper condition for eating. 37. One of your duties, however," I added, "will perhaps appear somewhat disagreeable, namely, that whoever of all the servants may fall sick, you must take charge of him, that he may be recovered." 38. "Nay, assuredly," returned my wife, "that will be a most agreeable office,[1] if such as receive good treatment are likely to make a grateful return, and to become more attached to me than before." Delighted with her answer,' continued Ischomachus, 'I said to her, "Are not the bees, my dear wife, in consequence of some such care on the part of the queen of the hive, so affected toward her, that, when she quits the hive, no one of them thinks of deserting her, but all follow in her train?" 39. "I should wonder, however," answered my wife, "if the duties of leader do not rather belong to you than to me; for my guardianship of what is in the house, and distribution of it, would appear rather ridiculous, I think, if you did not take care that something might be brought in from out of doors." 40. "And on the other hand," returned I, "my bringing in would appear ridiculous, unless there were somebody to take care of what is brought in. Do you not see," said I, "how those who are said to draw water in a bucket full of holes are pitied, as they evidently labour in vain?"[2] "Certainly," replied my wife, "for they are indeed wretched, if they are thus employed."

41. "Some other of your occupations, my dear wife," continued I, "will be pleasing to you. For instance, when you take a young woman who does not know how to spin, and make her skilful at it, and she thus becomes of twice as much value to you. Or when you take one who is ignorant of the duties of a housekeeper or servant, and, having made her accomplished, trustworthy, and handy, render her of the highest value. Or when it is in your power to do services to such of your attendants as are steady and useful, while, if any one is found transgressing, you can inflict punishment. 42. But you will experience the greatest of pleasures, if you show yourself superior to me, and render me your servant, and have no cause to fear that, as life advances, you may become less respected

[1] Ἐπιχαριτώτατον μὲν οὖν.] Μὲν οὖν, in reply to a question to which a negative answer was expected, signifies, *immò verò, quin immò* Breitenbach.

[2] An allusion to the fable of the Belides.

in your household, but may trust that, while you grow older, the better consort you prove to me, and the more faithful guardian of your house for your children, so much the more will you be esteemed by your family. 43. For what is good and honourable," I added, "gains increase of respect, not from beauty of person, but from merits directed to the benefit of human life." Such were the subjects, Socrates, on which, as far as I remember, I first conversed seriously with my wife.'

CHAPTER VIII.

Attentiveness of Ischomachus's wife to his admonitions. His instructions to her as to order in a family and in the arrangement of domestic utensils. Examples of the necessity and beauty of order in an army, a galley, and in companies of dancers.

1. "'DID you then observe, Ischomachus,' said I, 'that your wife was at all the more incited to carefulness by your remarks?' 'Indeed I did,' replied Ischomachus, 'and I saw her on one occasion greatly concerned and put to the blush, because, when I asked for something that had been brought into the house, she was unable to give it me. 2. Perceiving that she was in great trouble, however, I said, "Do not be cast down, my dear wife, because you cannot give me what I am asking you for. It is indeed pure poverty not to have a thing to use when you need it;[1] but our present want—not to be able to find a thing when you seek it—is of a less serious nature than not to seek it at all, knowing that it is not in your possession. However," added I, "you are not in fault on the present occasion, but I, as I did not direct you, when I gave you the articles, where each of them ought to be deposited, so that you might know how you ought to arrange them and whence to take them. 3. There is indeed nothing, my dear wife, more useful or more creditable to people than order.

[1] It is an old proverb, that it is evident poverty not to be able, when you want a thing, to use it, because you do not know where it has been thrown; and hence negligence in household affairs is more laborious than diligence. Columella, xii. 2, 3.

A chorus of singers and dancers, for instance, consists of a number of persons; but when they do whatever each of them happens to fancy, all appears confusion, and disagreeable to behold; but when they act and speak in concert, the same persons prove themselves worthy of being seen and heard. 4. An army, too, my dear wife," I continued, "is, when undisciplined, a mass of confusion, easy to be overcome by the enemy, unpleasing to the eyes of its friends, and of no possible use, asses, heavy-armed troops, baggage-carriers, light-armed men, horse-soldiers, carriages, being mingled together; for how could the men march, when, being in such a condition, they obstruct one another, he that is marching slow impeding him that is marching quick, he that is marching quick running against him that is halting, while the carriage is in the way of the trooper, the ass in that of the carriage, and the baggage-bearer in that of the foot-soldier? 5. Or if they had to fight, how could they do so in such confusion? for such of them as might have to retreat before the enemy's charge, might possibly, in their retreat, trample down others standing under arms. 6. But an army in good order is a most pleasing sight to its friends, and a most formidable object to the enemy. For what friend would not contemplate with pleasure a body of infantry marching in order? Or who would not admire cavalry riding with perfect regularity? Or what enemy would not be moved with fear, when he sees heavy-armed infantry, cavalry, targeteers, archers, and slingers distinctly arranged, and following their officers in good order? 7. Even though there be many myriads, yet, as long as they proceed in order, they all move at ease like one man; for those who come up from the rear fill up constantly whatever space is left vacant. 8. From what other cause is a galley, too, which is crowded with men, formidable to an enemy, or a pleasant sight to its friends, than on account of its speedy passage over the water? But for what other reason are those who sail in it no obstruction to one another, than because they sit in order, lean forward over their oars and draw back in order, and preserve order in embarking and disembarking? 9. But as to disorder, it seems to me something like as if a husbandman should throw into his granary[1] barley and wheat and peas together, and then, when he wants barley bread, or wheat-

[1] Ἐμβάλοι.] *In horreum condiderit.* Breitenbach.

en bread, or peas soup, should have to abstract them grain by grain, instead of having them separately laid up for his use. 10. If you, therefore, my dear wife, do not wish to be involved in such confusion, but desire to understand how to arrange our property, to take with ease any portion of what you have, and to use it for the purpose for which you require it, and also to oblige me by handing me whatever I may ask of you, let us select a place for everything separately, suitable for keeping it, and having deposited it there, let us give notice to the housekeeper whence to take it, and to put it there again; and thus we shall know what is in reserve, and what has been used; for the place itself will indicate the absence of what is gone; while a glance will show what needs attention, and the knowledge where any particular thing is, will at once put it into our hands, so that we may be at no loss when we have to use it."

11. "'I once saw, I think, the most beautiful and accurate arrangement of implements possible, Socrates, when I went on board that large Phœnician vessel[1] to look over it; for I beheld a vast number of articles severally arranged in an extremely small space. 12. For the ship,' continued he, 'is brought into harbour and taken out again by means of various instruments of wood and tow; it pursues its voyage with the aid of much that is called suspended tackle; it is equipped with many machines to oppose hostile vessels; it carries about in it many weapons for the men; it conveys all the utensils, such as people use in a house, for each company that take their meals together; and, in addition to all this, it is freighted with merchandise, which the owner of the ship transports in it for the purpose of profit. 13. And all the things of which I am speaking,' continued he, 'were stowed in a space not much larger than is contained in a room that holds half a score dinner-couches.[2] Yet I observed that they were severally arranged in such a manner that they were not in the way of one another, nor required anybody to seek for them, nor were unprepared for use, nor difficult to remove from their

[1] He speaks of some well-known large Phœnician vessel, which, perhaps, brought corn or other merchandise to Athens every year. *Schneider.*

[2] The Greeks were accustomed to designate the capacity of a building or apartment by the number of couches which it would contain. Thus we have οἶκος ἑπτάκλινος, Symp. ii. 18. *Breitenbach.*

places, so as to cause any delay when it was necessary to employ them suddenly. 14. The pilot's officer, too, who is called the man of the prow, I found so well acquainted with the location of them all, that he could tell, even when out of sight of them, where each severally lay, and how many there were, not less readily than a man who knows his letters can tell how many there are in the name Socrates, and where each of them stands. 15. I saw,' pursued Ischomachus, 'this very man inspecting, at his leisure, all the implements that it is necessary to use in a ship, and, wondering at his minute examination, I asked him what he was doing. "I am examining, stranger," said he, "in case anything should happen, in what state everything in the vessel is, and whether anything is wanting, or is placed so as to be inconvenient for use. 16. For," said he, "there is no time, when heaven sends a storm over the sea, either to seek for what may be wanting, or to hand out what may be difficult to use; for the gods threaten and punish the negligent; and if they but forbear from destroying those who do nothing wrong, we must be very well content; while, if they preserve even those that attend to everything quite properly, much gratitude is due to them." 17. I, therefore, having observed the accuracy of this arrangement, said to my wife, that it would be extremely stupid in us, if people in ships, which are comparatively small places, find room for their things, and, though they are violently tossed about, nevertheless keep them in order, and, even in the greatest alarm, still find out how to get what they want; and if we, who have large separate repositories in our house for everything, and our house firmly planted on the ground, should not discover excellent and easily-found places for our several articles;—how could this, I say, be anything but extreme stupidity in us?

18. "'How excellent a thing a regular arrangement of articles is, and how easy it is to find, in a house, a place such as is suitable to put everything, I have sufficiently shown. 19. But how beautiful an appearance it has, too, when shoes, for instance, of whatever kind they are, are arranged in order; how beautiful it is to see garments, of whatever kind, deposited in their several places; how beautiful it is to see bed-clothes, and brazen vessels, and table furniture, so arranged; and (what, most of all, a person might laugh at, not

indeed a grave person, but a jester), I say,[1] that pots have a graceful appearance when they are placed in regular order. 20. Other articles somehow appear, too, when regularly arranged, more beautiful in consequence;[2] for the several sorts of vessels seem like so many choral bands; and the space that is between them pleases the eye, when every sort of vessel is set clear of it; just as a body of singers and dancers, moving in a circle,[3] is not only in itself a beautiful sight, but the space in the middle of it, being open and clear, is agreeable to the eye. 21. Whether what I say is true, my dear wife," said I, "we may make trial, without suffering any loss, or taking any extraordinary trouble. Nor ought we at all to labour under the apprehension that it will be difficult to find a person who will learn the places for every article, and remember how to keep each of them separate; 22. for we know very well that the whole city contains ten thousand times as much as our house, and yet, whichsoever of the servants you order to buy anything and bring it to you from the market-place, not one of them will be in perplexity, but every one will show that he knows whither he must go to fetch any article. For this," added I, "there is no other reason than that each article is deposited in its appointed place. 23. But if you should seek for a person, and sometimes even for one who is on his part seeking you, you would often give up the search in despair before you find him; and for this there is no other cause, than that it is not appointed where the particular person is to await you." Such was the conversation that I had with my wife, as far as I remember, concerning the arrangement and distinction[4] of articles.'

[1] Dindorf and Breitenbach very properly read *φημὶ* here; the old editions have *φησί*.

[2] *Ἀπὸ τούτου.*] *Eâ re*, scilicet *ordine*. Breitenbach.

[3] *Κύκλιος χορός.*] *Chorus orbicularis*, such a band as used to sing songs in a circle round an altar. *Breitenbach.*

[4] *Περὶ——χωρίσεως.*] I take this reading from Tauchnitz's pocket edition. All other editions that I have seen have *χρήσεως*. To whom the honour of so admirable a correction is due I know not.

CHAPTER IX.

Ischomachus points out the use and object of the various apartments in his house. He and his wife make choice of a housekeeper. Attention of servants to their work must be secured by the careful superintendence of the mistress.

1. "'AND what was the result,' said I, 'my dear Ischomachus? Did your wife appear to attend to any of the matters which you took so much pains to impress upon her?' 'What else did she do but promise that she would attend to what I said, and manifest the greatest pleasure, as if she had found relief from perplexity? and she requested me to arrange the various articles, as soon as I could, in the manner which I had proposed.' 2. 'And how, Ischomachus,' said I, 'did you arrange them for her?' 'What else could I do but determine upon showing her, in the first place, the capacity of the house? For it is not adorned with decorations, but the apartments in it are constructed with such a view that they may be as convenient receptacles as possible for the things that are to be placed in them; so that they themselves invite whatever is adapted for them respectively.[1] 3. Thus the inner chamber, being in a secure part of the house, calls for the most valuable couch-coverings and vessels; the dry parts of the building for the corn; the cool places for the wine; and the well-lighted portions for such articles of workmanship, and vases, as require a clear light. 4. I pointed out to her, too, that the apartments for people to live in,[2] which

[1] Τὰ πρέποντα ἔνι ἑκάστῳ.] This is Dindorf's reading, from conjecture. The old texts have τὰ πρέποντα εἶναι ἑκάστῳ, which Breitenbach retains, though he gives the preference to Dindorf's conjecture. Schneider proposed to insert ἐν after εἶναι.

[2] The order of the words in the text being somewhat involved, Breitenbach observes that the construction is, διαιτητήρια δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κεκαλλωπισμένα ἐπεδείκνυον αὐτῇ, κ. τ. λ. "Nor must we be surprised," says he, "that the διαιτητήρια, i. e. *conclavia quotidiano usui destinata*, are here called κεκαλλωπισμένα, when it is said a little above that the house was not adorned ποικίλμασι, for we are simply to understand that these apartments, in which people lived, were provided with necessary furniture, and thus distinguished from the other apartments, which, being mere repositories for different articles, were left unfurnished and undecorated. See Mem. Soc. iii. 8. 8."

are well ornamented, are cool in the summer and exposed to the sun in winter; and I made her notice as to the whole house how it lies open to the south, so that it is plain it has plenty of sun in winter, and plenty of shade in summer.[1] 5. I pointed out to her also the situation of the apartment for the females, separated from that of the men by a door fastened with a bolt,[2] that nothing improper may be taken out, and that the servants may not have children without our knowledge; for good slaves, when they have children, generally become still better disposed; but bad ones, when they form connexions, increase their power to do mischief. 6. When we had gone through these places,' he continued, 'we then proceeded to classify our goods. We began by collecting, first of all, whatever we use for offering sacrifices; after this, we arranged the dresses for women, such as are suited for festival days; and then the equipments for men, as well for festivities as for warfare; and next the bed-coverings in the women's apartments, the bed-coverings in the men's apartments, the shoes for the women and the shoes for the men. 7. Of utensils there were distinct collections, one of instruments for spinning, another of those for preparing corn, another of those for cooking, another of those for the bath, another of those for kneading bread, another of those for the table. These in general we divided into two sorts, such as we have to use constantly, and such as are required only at festal entertainments. 8. We also made one assortment of what would be used in a month, and another of what was computed to last for a year; for in this way it is less likely to escape our knowledge how particular things are expended. When we had thus distinguished all our goods into classes, we conveyed them severally to the places best suited for them. 9. Afterwards, whatever utensils the servants require daily, such as those for preparing corn, for cooking, for spinning, and any others of that sort, we pointed out to those who use them the places where they were to put them, and then committed them to

[1] Apparently from the effect of the portico. See note on Mem. Soc. iii. 8. 8. But the meaning is uncertain alike in both passages.

[2] I read *θύρᾳ βαλανώτῳ*, with Breitenbach. Other texts have *θύραν βαλανείῳ*, from which no satisfactory sense could be extracted. The *βάλανος* was a sort of peg or bolt thrust through the bar of a door after the bar was pushed into a hole in the door-post. So that the full signification of *βαλάνωτος* is, *fastened with a bar and bolt.*

their keeping, charging them to keep them safely; 10. but such as we use only for festival days, for entertaining guests, or only occasionally at long intervals, we committed, after pointing out the places for them, and numbering and making lists of them, to the housekeeper, and told her to give out any of them to whatever servant needed them, to bear in mind to which of them she gave any one, and, after receiving them back, to deposit them respectively in the places from which she took them.

11. "'Of the housekeeper we made choice after considering which of the female servants appeared to have most self-restraint in eating, and wine, and sleep, and converse with the male sex; and, in addition to this, which seemed to have the best memory, and which appeared to have forethought, that she might not incur punishment from us for neglect, and to consider how, by gratifying us, she might gain some mark of approbation in return. 12. We formed her to entertain feelings of affection towards us, giving her a share in our pleasure when we had an occasion of rejoicing, and consulting her, if anything troublesome occurred, with reference to it. We also led her to become desirous of increasing our property, by stimulating her to take accounts of it, and making her in some degree partaker of our prosperity. 13. We also excited in her a love of honesty, by paying more respect to the well-principled than to the unprincipled, and showing her that they lived in greater plenty and in better style. We then installed her in her appointment.[1] 14. But in addition to all this, Socrates,' said he, 'I told my wife that there would be no profit in all these arrangements, unless she herself took care that the appointed order for everything should be preserved. I also instructed her that in the best-regulated political communities it is not thought sufficient by the citizens merely to make good laws, but that they also appoint guardians of the laws, who, overlooking the state, commend him who acts in conformity with the laws, and, if any one transgresses the laws, punish him. 15. I accordingly desired my wife,' continued he, 'to consider herself the guardian of the laws established in the house, and to inspect the household

[1] The common texts have ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ: Breitenbach's, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ, which I have followed. Χώρα occurs in a similar sense, he observes, Anab. v. 6. 13: ἐν ἀνδραπόδων χώρα.

furniture, whenever she thought proper, as the commander of a garrison inspects his sentinels; to signify her approbation if everything was in good condition, as the senate[1] signifies its approval of the horses and horse-soldiers; to praise and honour the deserving like a queen, according to her means, and to rebuke and disgrace any one that required such treatment. 16. But I moreover admonished her,' added he, 'that she would have no reason to be displeased, if I imposed on her more trouble with regard to our property than I laid on the servants; remarking to her, that servants have only so far a concern with their master's property as to carry it, or keep it in order, or take care of it; but that no servant has any power of using it unless his master puts it into his hands, while it belongs all to the master himself, so that he may use any portion of it for whatever purpose he pleases. 17. To him therefore that receives the greatest benefit from its preservation, and suffers the greatest loss by its destruction, I showed her that the greatest interest in its safety must belong.'

18. "'Well then, Ischomachus,' said I, 'how did your wife, on hearing these instructions, show herself disposed to comply with your wishes?' 'She assured me, Socrates,' replied he, 'that I did not judge rightly of her, if I thought that I was imposing on her what was disagreeable, in telling her that she must take care of the property; for she remarked,' said he, 'that it would have been more disagreeable to her if I had charged her to neglect her property, than if she were required to take care of the household goods. 19. For it seems to be a provision of nature,' concluded he, 'that as it is easier for a well-disposed woman to take care of her children than to neglect them, so it is more pleasing (as he thought, he said), for a right-minded woman to attend to her property, which, as being her own, affords her gratification, than to be neglectful of it.'

[1] Comp. Hipparch. c. 1, 8, 13.

CHAPTER X.

Socrates admires the excellent character and willing submission of Ischomachus's wife. Ischomachus relates how he dissuaded his wife from ostentation in dress, and made her feel that she would more effectually secure his attachment, and that of others, by a faithful discharge of her duties than by showiness in apparel or assumed dignity of manner.

1. "ON hearing that his wife had made him such a reply," proceeded Socrates, "I said, 'By Juno, Ischomachus, you show us that your wife is possessed of a manly understanding.' 'And accordingly,' returned Ischomachus, 'I wish to give you other instances of her extreme nobleness of mind, in matters in which she complied with my wishes after hearing them only once.' 'Of what nature were they?' said I; 'pray tell us; for it is a far greater pleasure to hear of the merit of a living woman, than if Zeuxis were to exhibit to me the most beautiful representation of a woman in a painting.' 2. Ischomachus then proceeded to say, 'Seeing her one day, Socrates, painted over with a great deal of white lead, that she might appear still fairer than she really was, and with a great deal of vermilion, that her complexion might seem more rosy than its natural hue, and having on high-heeled shoes, that she might seem tall beyond her real stature, 3. "Tell me," said I, "my dear wife, whether you would consider me, as a sharer of my fortunes with you, more worthy of your love, if I should show you what I really possessed, and should neither boast that I have more than really belongs to me, nor conceal any portion of what I have; or if, on the contrary, I should endeavour to deceive you by saying that I have more than is really mine, and by showing you counterfeit money, and necklaces of gilt wood, and purple garments of a fading colour, pretending that they are of the true quality?" 4. She instantly replying, said, "Hush! may you never act in such a way; for if you were to do so, I could never love you from my heart." "Then," said I, "my dear wife, were we not united that we might have personal intimacy with one another?" 5. "People say so at least," replied she. "Whether, then," said I, "should I seem, as an intimate associate, more worthy of your love, if, in presenting my person

to you, I should take care, by paying due attention to it, that it be healthy and strong, and should by that means appear to you, as would really be the case, of a good complexion, or if, on the contrary, I should paint myself with vermilion, tinge my eye-lids with purple, and then present myself before you, and associate with you, deceiving you all the time, and offering you vermilion to see and touch instead of my own natural skin?" 6. "Certainly," replied she, "I should not touch vermilion with greater pleasure than I should touch yourself, nor should I look upon purple dye with greater pleasure than on your own colour, nor should I see your eyes painted with greater pleasure than in their natural condition." 7. "Consider accordingly that I also, my dear wife,"' Ischomachus said that he told her, "am not better pleased with the colour of white lead and red dye than with your own; but as the gods have made horses the most beautiful objects of contemplation to horses, oxen to oxen, and sheep to sheep, so men think that the human body in its natural state is the most agreeable object of contemplation to men. 8. Such deceits may indeed impose, to a certain extent, on comparative strangers, without being discovered; but if those who live together in intimacy attempt to deceive one another, they must certainly be found out; for they will either expose themselves when they rise from their beds, before they make their toilet, or they will be detected by perspiration, or will be unmasked by tears, or will, assuredly, be betrayed in bathing."' 9. 'And what in the name of the gods,' said I, 'did she answer to these remarks?' 'Her only answer was,' said he, 'that she never afterwards practised any such art, but took care to appear in a natural and becoming manner. She even asked me if I could recommend her any course by which she might render herself really good looking, and not merely make herself be thought so. 10. I then, my dear Socrates,' continued he, 'advised her not to sit continually like a slave, but to take upon herself, with the help of the gods, to preside at the loom like a mistress, and to teach others what she knew better than they, and to learn what she did not know so well; I recommended her also to overlook the bread-maker, to attend to the housekeeper as she was measuring out her articles, and to go about and examine whether everything was in the place in which it ought to be; for such occupations, it appeared to

me, would be at once a discharge of her duties and a means of exercise. 11. I told her, too, that it would be good exercise to wet and knead the bread, and to shake out and put up the clothes and bed-coverings. I assured her that if she thus exercised herself she would take her food with a better appetite, would enjoy better health, and would assume a more truly excellent complexion. 12. A wife's look, indeed, when it seems, compared with that of a servant, more pure and healthy, and when she is dressed more becomingly, is something attractive to a husband, especially when a desire of pleasing him, instead of serving him from compulsion, is manifested. 13. But women who are always seated to keep up their dignity, cause themselves to be numbered among such as are decked out merely for show, and appear under false colours. And now, Socrates,' added he, 'my wife regulates her conduct, be assured, as I taught her, and as I now tell you.'

CHAPTER XI.

Socrates, having heard sufficient respecting the character of Ischomachus's wife, requests Ischomachus to tell him how he employed his time. Ischomachus gives an account of his various occupations, and the objects of them.

1. "I THEN said, 'I think that I have heard sufficient, Ischomachus, for a commencement, respecting the conduct of your wife, which is indeed extremely honourable to both of you. But tell me now,' I added, 'something of your own management, so that you may have pleasure in speaking of that from which you have gained credit, and that I, having heard a full account of the proceedings of an honourable and good man, and having, if possible, learned something from them, may feel myself much indebted to you.' 2. 'I will indeed give you with great pleasure, Socrates,' said Ischomachus, 'an account of what I am constantly doing, in order that you may correct me, if I seem to you to do anything injudiciously.' 3. 'But how can I,' I asked, 'with any show of justice, correct

a man whose conduct is marked by all that is noble and good, especially when I am myself a person who am thought to indulge in idle talk, and to measure the air,[1] and, what appears to be the most foolish of all calumnies, am accused of being poor. 4. I should indeed be in great dejection at this charge, had I not this morning, on meeting the horse of Nicias the foreigner,[2] seen numbers of spectators following him, and heard persons holding much conversation about him; and let me tell you, I went up to the groom and asked him whether the horse was possessed of much wealth. 5. But he, looking at me as if I had proved myself out of my senses by the question, said, "How can a horse be possessed of wealth?" So I recovered my spirits on hearing that it is possible for even a poor horse to be a good one, if he has a good disposition from nature. 6. On the supposition, therefore, that it is possible for me also to be a good man, give me a full account of your conduct, that I may begin to-morrow to imitate you in whatever good I may learn while I listen; for to-morrow is a good day,' said I, 'to enter upon a course of virtue.'[3] 7. 'You are jesting, Socrates,' said Ischomachus, 'but I will nevertheless tell you what I endeavour to pass my life, as far as I can, in studying; 8. for as I think I have learned that the gods have made it impossible for men to prosper without knowing what they ought to do, and taking care that their duties be performed, and that of those who are prudent and diligent the gods grant prosperity to some, and not to others; I therefore begin by offering adoration to the gods, and I endeavour to act in such a manner while I pray to them, that it may be possible for me to enjoy health and strength of body, the respect of my fellow-citizens, the goodwill of my friends, honourable safety in time of war, and wealth honestly in-

[1] Ἀερομετρεῖν.] That is, to indulge in idle and empty speculations, μετέωρα, above human knowledge or comprehension. Comp. Aristoph. Nub. 225.

[2] Νικίου τοῦ ἱππλύτου.] Gail supposes that Nicias the son of Niceratus is here meant, and that he is called ἱππλύτης as having just returned from an embassy to Lacedæmon. But if Xenophon had intended to indicate this, he would have used some other word than ἱππλύτης. Sturz, in his Lexicon, very properly states that some other Nicias is signified. Camerarius supposes that ἱππλύτου should be written with a capital, as the name of Nicias's father.

[3] A proverbial saying, not to be understood of any particular day; for every day is good for commencing the pursuit of virtue. *Weiske.*

creased.' 9. I, hearing this, said, 'Is it then an object with you, Ischomachus, that you may be rich, and that, having a large fortune, you may have also the trouble of taking care of it?' 'Certainly,' replied Ischomachus, 'I have a desire for that wealth about which you ask; for it appears a great pleasure to me to pay rich offerings to the gods, to assist my friends, if they have need of aid, and to take care that the city may not be unadorned for want of money, as far as I am concerned.' 10. 'Assuredly, Ischomachus,' said I, 'the objects which you mention are honourable, and suitable to a man in a highly influential position; for how can it be otherwise? since there are many who cannot live without looking to the assistance of others, and many must be content if they can procure what is barely sufficient to sustain them. But as for those who are able not only to manage their own households, but to secure a superfluity, so as to adorn the city, and to relieve their friends, must we not regard them as men of great substance and influence? 11. Many of us, indeed,' continued I, 'are able to extol such men; but do you tell me, my dear Ischomachus, commencing with what you mentioned first, how you take care of your health; how you keep up your bodily strength; how it is possible for you to preserve yourself honourably in time of war; and, after you have spoken on these points, it will be satisfactory to hear what you say respecting the means of increasing your fortune.' 12. 'All these things, my good Socrates,' rejoined Ischomachus, 'are, as it appears to me, naturally connected with one another; for after a man has taken sufficient to eat, health seems to be a surer attendant on him when he works it off by proper exercise, and his strength seems to increase as he exerts himself; if he practises military exercises, he is likely to secure his safety with greater honour; and, if he pays due attention to his affairs, and does not relax into idleness, there will be the greater probability that his substance will be increased.' 13. 'So far I follow you, Ischomachus,' said I, 'when you say that a man who is industrious and careful, and takes exercise, secures certain advantages; but what sort of labour you adopt to keep up your constitution and strength, how you exercise yourself for war, and what methods you pursue to secure a superabundance of income, so that you may assist your friends, and add to the resources of the commonwealth,

are points,' said I, 'which I would gladly learn from you.' 14. 'I accustom myself, then, Socrates,' said Ischomachus, 'to rise from my bed at an hour when I am likely to find any one whom I may want to see still at home. If I have to do any business in the city, I have the advantage of a walk while I am going upon it. 15. Or if I have no business of consequence in the city, my servant takes my horse into the fields, and I, by the walk along the road into the country, perhaps get more benefit than I should get if I were to walk under a covered colonnade.[1] 16. When I reach the open fields, I then, whether my workmen happen to be planting trees, or turning up the soil, or sowing, or gathering in the produce, observe how everything is going on, and suggest alterations if I think of anything better than what is being done. 17. After this, I generally mount my horse, and go through equestrian exercises as similar as possible to those necessarily practised in war, avoiding neither cross roads,[2] nor acclivities, nor ditches, nor streams of water; but I take care, as far as is in my power, not to lame my horse while he is engaged in these exercises. 18. When this is over, the servant lets the horse roll himself about, and then takes him home, carrying with him whatever we want from the fields into the town; whilst I return home, sometimes at a walking pace, and sometimes running, and then clear off the perspiration with the strigil.[3] I next take my morning meal, Socrates, eating just so much as neither to pass the day empty nor over full.'[4] 19. 'By Jupiter, my dear Ischomachus,' said I, 'you do all this in such a way as to have my approbation at least; for to occupy yourself, at the same time, in arrangements for the improvement of your health and strength, in exercises suited to war, and in cares for the advancement of your fortune, seems to me in the highest degree admirable. 20. You give us

[1] The Athenians were accustomed to walk, for health or pleasure, in the porticoes of the gymnasia, which were called *ξυστοί*, *δρόμοι*, *ξυστοί δρόμοι*, *κατάστεγοι δρόμοι*, very seldom under the open sky, or without the city. Compare Plato, Phædr. p. 227. Becker's Charicles, vol. i. p. 343 (p. 308, Eng. Transl. Parker, 1854). *Breitenbach.*

[2] Οὔτε πλαγίου——*ἀπεχόμενος.*] *Neque transversa——vito.* Philelphus.

[3] An instrument used for cleansing the skin, chiefly in the bath; but sometimes used without bathing. See Schneider's note.

[4] Pransus non avidè, quantum interpellet inani
Ventre diem durare. Hor. Sat. i. 6, 127.

assuredly, sufficient proofs that you attend to each of these particulars effectually; for we see you in general, under favour of the gods, in the enjoyment of health and strength, and we know that you are reckoned among the best qualified of our horsemen and the richest of our citizens.'

21. "'While I pursue this course of conduct, then, Socrates,' continued he, 'I am by many persons very greatly calumniated;—you perhaps thought that I was going to say that I am, by many, called an honourable and excellent man.' 22. 'Yes; but I was going to ask you this, too, Ischomachus,' said I, 'whether you make it at all your care that you may be able to give an account of your actions, and to require from others an account of theirs, if it be necessary to require such account from any one.' 'Do I not appear to you, Socrates,' replied he, 'to be constantly meditating on this very subject, to be able to justify myself by showing that I injure no man, and that I do good to many, as far as I can? and do I not appear to you to make it my study how to accuse people, when I see many doing wrong to individuals, and some to the state, and not one doing good?' 23. 'If you also meditate interpreting what you say, Ischomachus,' said I, 'tell me, in addition, what it is you mean.' 'I never cease, then, Socrates,' continued he, 'to exercise myself in speaking; for I either listen to one of my servants accusing another, or defending himself, and try to refute what is not true; or I complain of some person, or commend him, to his friends; or I seek to reconcile some of my acquaintances, by endeavouring to convince them how much better it is for them to be friends rather than enemies. 24. Or, when we[1] are in company with any commander, we bring a charge against some one of his men, or offer a defence on behalf of some one, if he lies under an unjust accusation; or we bring charges against one another, if any of us receives honour undeservedly. Frequently, too, we engage in deliberations, praise whatever we desire to do, and find fault with whatever we are unwilling to do. 25. But now, Socrates,' added he, 'I am often brought to judgment myself individually,[2] that it may be settled what penalty I have to suffer or to pay.' 'By whom,

[1] By "we" is meant "I and any of my friends."

[2] Διειλημμένος is the reading of Dindorf, which is interpreted by *seorsum* in the Latin version. Weiske and Breitenbach read διειλημμένως, to which Breitenbach, with Camerarius, gives the sense of *distinctè*.

Ischomachus?' asked I; 'for this was quite unknown to me.' 'By my wife,' said he. 'And how,' said I, 'do you plead your cause?' 'Very fairly,' replied he, 'when it is to my interest to say what is true; but when it is to my profit to say what is false, I cannot, by Jupiter, my dear Socrates, succeed in making the worse argument appear the better.'[1] 'Without doubt, Ischomachus,' said I, 'you cannot make that true which is false.'

CHAPTER XII.

Socrates expresses his fear that he was detaining Ischomachus from his business; Ischomachus replies that he had left his affairs under the superintendence of a bailiff, and proceeds to give an account of the office and duties of a bailiff or overseer, and the qualities necessary to the formation of a good one. But the master's personal superintendence must never be long withheld.

1. "'But,' said I, 'let me not detain you, my dear Ischomachus, if you now wish to go away.' 'You are not detaining me, I assure you, Socrates,' said he, 'since I should not go away until the business of the market is altogether at an end.' 2. 'Undoubtedly,' replied I, 'for you are extremely cautious that you may not lose your title, that of an upright and honourable man; and thus, though perhaps many things require your attention, yet, as you made an agreement with the strangers, you still wait for them, that you may not disappoint them.'[2] 'Those many things, however, to which you allude, my dear Socrates, are not neglected,' replied Ischomachus, 'for I have bailiffs in my fields.' 3. 'And whether,' said I, 'Ischomachus, when you want a bailiff, do you, after having ascertained if there is anywhere a man fit for a bailiff, proceed to hire him (as, when you want a carpenter, you recollect if you have anywhere seen a man qualified as a carpenter, and try, I know very well, to secure his services), or do you form

[1] As Socrates was often accused of doing. See Aul. Gell. v. 3; Quintil. ii. 16; Aristoph. Nub. 114. "His tongue could make the worse appear the better reason." Par. Lost, ii. 112.

[2] See c. 7, sect. 2.

your bailiffs by instructing them yourself?' 4. 'I myself assuredly, my dear Socrates,' he replied, 'endeavour to instruct them; for what else ought he who is to be qualified to attend to my business in my stead, whenever I am absent, to know, but what I myself know? and if I myself am fit to have charge of the business, I may certainly teach another what I myself understand.' 5. 'Then, in the first place,' said I, 'it will be proper for him to entertain good feelings towards you and yours, if he is to supply your place properly when he attends to your business instead of yourself; for without a good disposition, what profit would there be from any knowledge in a bailiff whatsoever?' 'None, certainly,' replied Ischomachus; 'but I endeavour, first of all, to teach them to feel well disposed towards me, and what concerns me.' 6. 'And how, in the name of the gods,' said I, 'do you teach whomsoever you please, to feel well disposed to you and what concerns you?' 'By doing them some good,' replied Ischomachus, 'whenever the gods give me an abundant supply of anything that is good.' 7. 'You say this, then,' said I, 'that those who profit by your good fortune become attached to you, and wish to do you some good.' 'I see, indeed, Socrates, that this is the best means of securing attachment.' 8. 'But if a person becomes well affected towards you, Ischomachus,' said I, 'will he on that account be sufficiently qualified to act as a bailiff for you? Do you not see that though all men, so to speak, are well affected towards themselves, there are yet many of them who are not willing to take the requisite care that the good things which they desire may fall to their lot?' 9. 'But, I assure you,' said Ischomachus, 'when I wish to make such persons bailiffs, I also teach them to be careful.' 10. 'How, in the name of the gods?' said I; 'for I thought that to make a man careful did not fall under the province of teaching.' 'Nor is it indeed possible, Socrates,' said he, 'to teach all men, without exception,[1] to be careful.' 11. 'What sort of men, then,' said I, 'is it possible to teach? Point them out to me clearly, by all means.' 'In the first place, Socrates,' replied he, 'you would not be able to make such as are intemperate in wine careful, for intoxication induces forgetfulness of everything that is necessary for them to do.'

[1] Ἐφεξῆς—πάντας.] "All one after another, i. e. all without any exception." *Breitenbach.*

12. 'Are then those only,' said I, 'who are intemperate in this particular, incapable of becoming careful, or are there any others besides?' 'Yes, indeed,' replied Ischomachus, 'those who indulge immoderately in sleep; for he who is sunk in drowsiness can neither do what he ought himself, nor render others able to do it.' 13. 'What, then,' said I again, 'will these only be incapable of being taught this carefulness, or will there be others in addition to these?' 'Those, too,' said Ischomachus, 'who are immoderately given to sensuality, appear to be incapable of being taught to care for anything else more than for it. 14. For neither is it easy to find any subject of contemplation or solicitude more agreeable than that of love; nor, when attention to business is necessary, is it easy to find a severer punishment for them than detention from the beloved object. Whomsoever, therefore, I observe to be of such a character, I abstain from even attempting to render careful.' 15. 'And as to those,' said I, 'who are greedy of gain, are they incapable of being instructed to pay attention to business in the fields?' 'No, by Jupiter,' replied Ischomachus, 'by no means; for they are very easy to be brought to give attention to such matters; since nothing else is necessary for the purpose but merely to show them that the employment is profitable.' 16. 'And as to others, moreover,' said I, 'if they are temperate in what you require, and are but moderately desirous of gain, how do you teach them to be careful in that in which you wish them to be so?' 'By a very simple method, Socrates,' replied he; 'for when I see them attentive to their business, I commend them, and endeavour to bestow some distinction on them; but when I observe them negligent, I study to say or do something that may hurt their feelings.' 17. 'Well, then, Ischomachus,' added I, 'to divert our discourse a little from those who are taught to attend to business, tell me, with regard to the teaching itself, whether it is possible that he who is himself careless should render others careful.' 18. 'No, certainly,' replied Ischomachus, 'no more than it is possible for one who is ignorant of music to render others skilful in music; for it is hard, when a teacher shows a thing imperfectly, to learn from him to do it well; and if a master gives an example of negligence, it is not to be expected that the servant will be careful. 19. To speak briefly, I do not think that I have ever observed the servants of a bad master

conduct themselves well; I have, however, seen the servants of a good master conduct themselves ill, but not without detriment to him. But whoever wishes to make his servants capable of attending to his work must be careful to overlook and inspect what they do, and to be ready to bestow some reward upon any one that is the cause of things being well done, as well as not to shrink from inflicting a proper penalty on any one that is negligent. 20. The reply attributed to the barbarian,' added Ischomachus, 'appears to me to be exceedingly to the purpose; for when the king of Persia, having met with a fine horse, and wishing to have it fattened as soon as possible, asked one of those who were considered knowing about horses, what would fatten a horse soonest, it is said that he answered, "the master's eye."[1] So, Socrates,' concluded he, 'the master's eye seems to me to have the most effect in rendering other things right and prosperous.'

CHAPTER XIII.

Bailiffs or overseers must be instructed how their several duties are to be regulated and performed. They must also be taught how to direct and govern those who are under them.

1. "'But when you have impressed upon any person,' said I, 'and impressed with great earnestness, that he must attend to that to which you desire him to attend, will he be at once qualified to take the office of bailiff, or is there anything else that he must learn, if he means to be an able bailiff?' 2. 'Yes, indeed,' replied Ischomachus, 'there is something else; for it remains for him to know what he must do, and when, and how; for if he does not learn this, what profit would there be from a bailiff without such knowledge, any more than from a physician who should attend upon a sick person, visiting him morning and evening, but should be ignorant what to do for the benefit of his patient.' 3. 'And if he has learned how his various works are to be done, will there be need of anything

[1] The same anecdote is mentioned by Aristotle, Œcon. c. 6. So Cato used to say, that the face of a master was of much more use than his back. Plin. H. N. xviii. 5. Comp. Æsch. Pers. 165.

further,' said I, 'or will he then be a thoroughly accomplished bailiff for you?' 'I think,' he replied, 'that he must at least learn how to direct the workmen.' 4. 'Do you then instruct your bailiffs,' said I, 'that they may be qualified for directing others?' 'I try to do so at least,' said Ischomachus. 'And how, in the name of the gods,' I asked, 'do you teach them to be able to direct men? In a very poor way, indeed, Socrates,' replied he, 'so that you may perhaps laugh at it when you hear it.' 5. 'Such a matter,' returned I, 'does not deserve to be laughed at, my dear Ischomachus; for whoever is able to render persons qualified to direct men, is evidently able to teach them how to govern men; and whoever can teach them to govern, can also qualify them to become kings; so that he who can do this appears to me deserving, not of derision, but of great praise.' 6. 'Other animals, then, Socrates,' continued he, 'learn to obey under the influence of two things; from being punished when they attempt to be disobedient, and from being treated with kindness when they obey cheerfully. 7. Colts, for instance, learn to obey those who break them in, by finding something pleasant happen to them when they are obedient, and when they are disobedient, by experiencing some trouble, until they submit to the will of the breaker. 8. Puppies, too, which are far inferior to man in understanding as well as tongue, are nevertheless taught to run in a circle, to dive in the water,[1] and to do many other things, in the very same manner; for when they obey, they receive something for which they have a desire; and when they are careless, they are punished. 9. As for men, it is possible to render them more obedient by argument, showing them that it is for their advantage to obey. With respect to slaves, that mode of instruction which is similar to that of brutes is of the greatest effect in teaching them to be obedient; for if you provide for their bellies, so as to gratify their appetites, you may succeed in getting much from them. But ambitious natures are excited by praise; for some dispositions thirst for praise no less than others for meat and drink. 10. While I teach, therefore, those whom I wish to make bailiffs, the rules which I observe myself in the expectation of finding people more obedient to me, I second their efforts also in the

[1] Κυβιστᾶν.] So Zeune interprets the word; but it may mean, "to turn heels over head."

following ways: I take care that the clothes and the shoes, which I have to furnish for the workmen, may not be all alike, but some worse and some better, that there may be opportunity for distinguishing the better labourer with the better garments, while I give those of inferior value to the less deserving. 11. For extreme despondency, Socrates,' continued he, 'appears to be produced in the meritorious, when they see that the work is done by themselves, and that they obtain only a like recompense with those who are neither willing to work nor to submit to any risk when necessity calls upon them. I myself, therefore, never by any means consider the better workmen as deserving only of equal recompense with the worse, and I commend my overseers whenever I see them distributing the best articles among the most praiseworthy labourers; but if I observe any one distinguished in consequence of flatteries or any other profitless service, I do not overlook the abuse, but reprimand the bailiff, and endeavour to teach him, Socrates, that he is not doing what is for his own interest.'

CHAPTER XIV.

How bailiffs and others should be induced to observe honesty.

1. "'But when your overseer, Ischomachus,' proceeded I, 'has become qualified to manage others, so as to render them tractable, do you consider that he is then become a thoroughly qualified officer; or does he, who has the accomplishments which you have mentioned, need any additional good qualities?' 2. 'Indeed he does,' replied Ischomachus; 'for instance, to abstain from taking liberties with his master's property, and from thieving; for if he who has the management of the crops should dare to make away with them clandestinely, so as not to leave as much as will be a recompense for the labour, what profit would it be to cultivate the land under his superintendence?' 3. 'Do you, then,' said I, 'undertake to teach the observance of honesty?' 'Certainly,' replied Ischomachus, 'but I do not find all listen promptly to such teaching. 4. Taking some things, however, from the

laws of Draco, and some from those of Solon, I endeavour to bring my servants to honesty; for these lawgivers,' added he, 'appear to me to have made many of their laws for the purpose of inculcating such integrity, 5. since it is written in them that persons are to be punished for thefts, and that those who attempt them, if they be caught in the fact, are to be put in prison, or put to death. It is plain, therefore, that they wrote such laws with a view to render dishonest gains profitless to knaves. 6. Adopting some things, accordingly, from these laws,' continued he, 'and borrowing others from the laws of the king of Persia,[1] I strive to render my servants honest in regard to what they have under their management; 7. for the laws of Draco and Solon only prescribe penalties for those who do wrong, but the laws of the king of Persia not only punish those who do amiss, but reward those who do right; so that many, even though they are very greedy of gain, yet, as they see that the honest become richer than the dishonest, adhere very carefully to abstinence from dishonesty. 8. But those whom I observe,' added he, 'attempting, notwithstanding they are well treated, to practise dishonesty, I set aside entirely from all trust,[2] as being incorrigible knaves. 9. Those, on the contrary, whom I perceive not only priding themselves on having more than others through their honesty, but manifesting a desire to receive praise from me, I treat at once as freedmen; not only enriching them, but honouring them as good and upright persons; 10. for it is in this, Socrates,' he concluded, 'that a man desirous of honours differs from a man fond of gain, in being willing, namely, to labour, or to meet danger, when it is necessary, for the sake of praise and distinction, and to abstain from disgraceful means of lucre.'

[1] Τῶν Βασιλικῶν νόμων.] As the king of Persia is called King, κατ' ἐξοχήν, so anything belonging to him or concerning him is called Βασιλικός. *Breitenbach.*

[2] Ἀπὸ τῆς χρήσεως.] I abstain from making use of them as trustworthy persons. Schneider's text has χειρίσεως, a conjecture of Coraÿ. Reisig proposes κτήσεως.

CHAPTER XV.

Ischomachus now proceeds, at the request of Socrates, to give instructions on the various departments of agriculture. He shows that it is easy to be learned; and that those who are employed in it are very ready to communicate their knowledge of it, differing greatly in this respect from persons employed in handicraft trades. Socrates expresses his pleasure at what Ischomachus has said, and desires to hear more.

1. "'WELL, then,' said I, 'when you have implanted in a person the desire that prosperity may attend you, when you have inspired him also with an anxiety that profit may be secured for you, when, in addition to this, you have furnished him with knowledge how every kind of work may be done, so as to be rendered more lucrative, when you have rendered him, moreover, able to direct others, and when, last of all, you have made him produce the fruits of the earth for you in as great abundance as you would produce them for yourself, I will no longer ask, concerning such a man, whether he still requires any additional good quality; for an overseer who is thus accomplished appears to me to be of the very highest value. Do not, however, omit this point, Ischomachus,' said I, 'which has been very lightly passed over in our discourse.' 'What is it?' said Ischomachus. 2. 'You said,' replied I, 'that it was a most important matter to learn how it is necessary to do every kind of work; else, if a person did not know what he ought to do, and how he ought to do it, you observed that there would be no profit even in diligence. 3. The other observations of yours, Ischomachus,' said I, 'I think I understand well enough; I mean what you said as to the mode in which it is proper to instruct the overseer; for I seem to comprehend how, as you said, you render him well disposed towards you, and careful, and fit to direct others, and honest. 4. But as to that which you said besides, that it is necessary for him who would attend to agriculture properly to learn what he must do, and how he must do it, and at what season he must do each particular thing, we seem to have passed it over in our conversation somewhat too lightly. 5. It was as if you should say that he who would be able to write down anything dictated to him must know letters, and

be able to read anything written; for, after having heard this from you, I should have heard that such a person must know letters; but though I should have learned this, I should not, on that account, I believe, know anything more of letters myself. 6. So now, also, I am very well convinced, that he who would conduct agriculture properly must understand it; yet, though I know this, I do not know at all the more how I must conduct agriculture. 7. If I should proceed at once, therefore, to manage a farm, I should think myself like a quack, who should go about and visit patients without knowing what would do them good. That I may not, then, act in such a manner,' added I, 'pray instruct me in the duties of agriculture.'

8. "Ischomachus then said, 'Do you wish me, Socrates, to teach you at once the very art of agriculture itself?' 'Assuredly,' said I; 'for it is an art that renders those who understand it rich, and leaves those who do not understand it, however much they labour in it, to live in poverty.' 9. 'You shall now hear,' then, Socrates,' said he, 'how friendly the character of this art is to mankind; for, inasmuch as it is most useful, most pleasant to pursue, most becoming, and most agreeable to gods and men, and as it is also most easy to learn, how can it be otherwise than of a noble character? For among animals, I may observe, we call such as are beautiful, and large, and serviceable, and gentle to the hand of man, noble. 10. Nor is agriculture, Socrates,' continued he, 'so difficult to learn as other arts, the students of which must almost wear themselves out before they can do enough in them to gain support; but, partly by seeing others at work, partly by hearing from them, you may soon learn enough even to teach another, if you wish. I think, too,' he added, 'that you understand a good deal of it, without being aware; 11. for those who practise other arts conceal, in some degree, the most important particulars which each knows in his particular art; but, among husbandmen, he who plants trees best will be best pleased if another person looks on while he is planting, and he who sows best will have the same feeling; and whatever you ask him about anything that is well done, he will have no concealments from you as to the way in which he did it. 12. So that agriculture is of a nature to render those who are occupied with it extremely generous as to their

dispositions.' 13. 'The preface,' said I, 'is excellent, and not of a character to deter him who hears it from questioning the speaker; and do you, as it is easy to learn the art, explain it, for that reason, the more fully to me; for it is not unbecoming to you to teach what is easy, but it would be highly unbecoming in me not to understand it, especially as it is of service.'

CHAPTER XVI.

Ischomachus makes remarks on the nature of various soils; the art of distinguishing them; and the modes and seasons of cleansing and cultivating land.

1. "'In the first place, then, Socrates,' said Ischomachus, 'I wish to let you know, that that point in agriculture which those who descant on it very nicely in words, but have no practical experience, represent as a matter of great skill, is not at all difficult to understand; for they say that he who would practise husbandry successfully ought, first to know the nature of the soil.' 2. 'Yet, surely,' said I, 'they assert this not without reason; for he who does not know what the soil can produce, would not know, I suppose, either what he ought to sow or what to plant.' 3. 'However,' said Ischomachus, 'it is possible to ascertain, from looking at one's neighbour's ground, what it can bear and what it cannot, if we only observe the corn and the trees upon it; and when a person has learned this, there is no further use in fighting against nature, for he would not obtain a greater supply of provisions by sowing or planting what he himself might require, than by sowing or planting what the earth would of its own accord produce and nourish. 4. But if the land cannot show its qualities, through the negligence of those who possess it, it is often possible to gain a juster notion of it from an adjoining piece of ground, than to attempt to learn it from a neighbour. 5. Even if it be uncultivated, it will still show its nature; for that which produces weeds of average growth will, if it is properly tilled, produce also plants of average growth. Thus those who are not particularly skilled in agriculture may nevertheless discover the nature of ground.'

6. 'In this respect, then, Ischomachus,' said I, 'I think that I may have sufficient confidence in myself, so that I need not abstain from agriculture through fear of not knowing the quality of the soil. 7. For I remember, indeed,' added I, 'what the fishermen do, who, though engaged on the sea, and not stopping to view the shore, or even slackening their course, but running along by the fields at full sail, yet, when they see crops on the ground, do not hesitate to give an opinion on it, and to pronounce which part is good and which is bad, depreciating one and extolling another; accordingly, I see them express themselves in general respecting the goodness of land in the same manner as those who are experienced in agriculture.'

8. "'Where, then, would you wish me, Socrates,' said he, 'to begin to bring to your recollection matters concerning agriculture? for I am sure that I shall tell you a vast number of things, as to the manner in which we must cultivate land, when you already know them.' 9. 'I think, Ischomachus,' said I, 'that I would gladly learn first of all (for this is what most concerns a philosopher), how, by cultivating the earth, if I should wish to do so, I may obtain the greatest quantities of barley and wheat.' 10. 'Do you know this, then, that we must prepare fallow ground[1] for sowing?' 'I do know it,' said I. 11. 'Suppose we should begin, then,' said he, 'to plough the ground in the winter?' 'It would at that time be nothing else but mud,' said I. 'Does it seem proper to you to begin in summer, then?' 'The soil will be very hard at that season,' answered I, 'for the oxen.' 12. 'So it appears that we must begin that work in the spring.' 'It is likely,' rejoined I, 'that the soil, if moved at that time, will be most easily spread.' 'And it is then that the weeds, Socrates,' said he, 'being turned up, furnish manure for the ground, while they have not yet scattered their seeds, so as to produce any fresh weeds. 13. For this also, I think, it must be easy for you to understand, that, if ground is to lie fallow to good purpose, it ought to be free from weeds, and warmed as much as possible by the sun.' 'Certainly,' said I, 'I think that such must be the case.' 14. 'And do you think

[1] Νεὸν.] Land on which nothing is sown, and which is to be turned up and prepared for being sown. Νειὸς τρίπολος, "a thrice-ploughed fallow." Il. xviii. 541.

that these effects can be better produced by any other means than by turning up the land as often as possible during the summer?' 'I, indeed, am fully aware,' said I, 'that weeds cannot be by any means more effectually kept from taking root, or dried up by the heat, and that the soil cannot be more effectually warmed by the sun, than by turning it up with oxen in the middle of summer and in the middle of the day.' 15. 'Or if men were to make the ground fallow by turning it up with the spade,' said he, 'is it not evident that they ought to keep the soil and the weeds distinct?'[1] 'And to throw the weeds,' added I, 'upon the surface, that they may be withered, while they turn up the soil, that the crude part of it may be benefited by the warmth.'

CHAPTER XVII.

Of sowing, and the proper times for it. Different soils require different quantities of seed. Of hoeing and weeding.

1 "'CONCERNING the fallowing of the ground, therefore, Socrates,' continued Ischomachus, 'you see that the same notions are entertained by both of us.' 'They are, certainly,' said I. 'About the time of sowing, however, my dear Socrates,' continued he, 'have you any other opinion than that that is the time for sowing, which men of former days who have tried it, and men of the present day who are still trying it, have judged to be the best? 2. For when the autumn is come, all men, in a manner, look to the gods, to see when they will moisten the earth, and allow them to sow.' 'All men, indeed, Ischomachus,' said I, 'are determined upon not sowing, at least willingly, when the ground is dry; inasmuch as people who had sowed before they were directed by the gods, have had to struggle with many disadvantages.' 3. 'On these points, then,' said Ischomachus, 'all men are agreed.' 'Yes,' said I; 'for as to what the gods teach, it is constantly the case that men are of one mind; for instance, it is thought

[1] Δίχα δεῖ ποιεῖν.] To keep the weeds out of the soil; not to let them take root in it again.

by everybody alike that it is better to wear thick clothing in the winter, if they can get it ; and it is thought by everybody better to burn fire in the winter, if they have wood.' 4. 'With regard to the time of sowing, however, my dear Socrates,' said Ischomachus, 'many are divided in opinion as to whether the earliest, or the middle, or the latest, is the best.' 'But the gods,' said I, 'do not order the years with exact uniformity, so that one year may be best for very early sowing, another for middle, another for very late.' 5. 'As for yourself, then, Socrates,' said he, 'whether do you think it better for a man to fix on one of these times and keep to it, whether he has much or little seed to sow,[1] or to begin at the earliest period and prolong his sowing throughout the season, until the very end of it?' 6. 'To me, indeed, Ischomachus,' replied I, 'it appears best to sow a portion at each period ;[2] for I consider it far better to have a sufficient crop of corn every year,[3] than a great deal one year, and not enough another.' 'In this, therefore, Socrates,' said he, 'you agree with me, the learner with the teacher, and you even give your opinion before I have given mine.'

7. "'But,' said I, 'as to spreading the seed over the ground, is there any artful way of doing that?' 'Certainly there is, Socrates,' replied he. 'Let us give some consideration to this point. That the seed must be thrown from the hand, I suppose that you are pretty well aware.' 'Yes, for I have seen it thrown,' said I. 'But some men can spread it evenly,' said he, 'and others cannot.' 'In this respect, then,' said I, 'the hand requires exercise, like that of players on the harp, that it may obey the mind.' 8. 'Undoubtedly,' said he ; 'but what if some sorts of land be lighter, and others heavier?' 'What is this that you say?' returned I ; 'do you call that lighter which is poorer, and that heavier which is richer?' 'That is what I mean,' replied he ; 'and I ask

[1] For if a farmer has much seed to sow, he has the greater need to take care lest, by trusting to one time for sowing, the favourableness or unfavourableness of which the future must show, he should lose his seed and his labour. *Breitenbach.*

[2] Πάντος μετέχειν τοῦ σπόρου.] "Some, thinking it safer, do not sow all their seed early, but make second, third, and even fourth sowings in succession, to guard against the uncertainty of the future." Geopon. ii. 14. 8. *Zeune.*

[3] Ἀεί.] *Unoquoque anno.* Breitenbach.

you whether you would allow an equal quantity of seed to each sort of land, or, if not, to which you would allow the greater quantity?' 9. 'I think it proper,'[1] replied I, 'to pour the greater quantity of water into the stronger wine, and if there be any burdens to carry, to lay the heavier load on the stronger man; and if I had to maintain a body of men in any country, I should require such of the inhabitants as had the greater wealth to support the greater number. But whether poor land be rendered more productive by putting more corn into it, as an ox is, pray inform me.' 10. Ischomachus laughed and said, 'You are jesting, Socrates. Be assured of this, however,' he proceeded, 'that if, after you have cast seed into the ground, and after the land has received much nourishment from the sky, and the green corn has grown up from the seed, you then turn up the soil again, the crop becomes food to the ground, and vigour is produced in it as from the effect of manure; but if you allow the land to bear its crop to maturity, so as to have corn from it,[2] you will see that it is difficult for weak land to bring much corn to maturity; just as it is difficult for a weak sow to rear a great number of large pigs.' 11. 'You mean, then, Ischomachus,' said I, 'that we must throw the smaller quantity of seed on the poorer land.' 'Yes, by Jupiter, Socrates,' replied he, 'and you agree with me, as you say that you think it proper to lay lighter burdens on whatever animals are weaker.'

12. 'And as to hoers,' said I, 'Ischomachus, for what purpose do you send them into the corn?' 'You are aware, doubtless,' said he, 'that a great deal of rain falls in the winter.' 'Certainly,' said I. 'Let us suppose, then, that some portion of the corn is covered by the action of the rain, by mud being thrown up on it, and that some of the roots are laid bare by the streaming down of the water; and weeds, we may imagine, often spring up under the influence of the rain, together with the corn, and choke it.' 'It is quite natural,' said I, 'that all such things should happen.' 13. 'Does it then appear to you,' said he, 'that the corn requires any aid under such circumstances?' 'Undoubtedly,' I replied. 'By what means, then, do you think that people can assist that which is covered with mud?' 'By relieving it of its load of

[1] Νομίζω.] *Fas duco; rectum esse puto.* Breitenbach. Comp. sect. 11.
[2] Εἰς καρπόν.] I. e. ὥστε καρπὸν γίνεσθαι. *Breitenbach.*

earth,' said I. 'And by what means can they assist that which has its roots exposed?' 'By throwing up the earth on them again,' said I. 14. 'And what if weeds should spring up with the corn and choke it, and rob it of its proper nutriment, as the drones, which are useless beings, rob the bees of that which they have prepared and laid up as food for themselves?' 'It would be proper,' said I, 'by Jupiter, to root up the weeds, as it is proper to expel the drones from the hives.' 15. 'May we not be thought, then, with good reason, to send hoers[1] into the corn?' 'Undoubtedly,' I replied; 'but I am thinking how effective it is to introduce similes in our discourse; for, by mentioning drones, you have excited my anger against weeds far more strongly than when you spoke of weeds only.'

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of reaping, threshing, and winnowing. Socrates acknowledges that agriculture is easy to be learned.

1. "'AFTER this, however,' said I, 'the next thing in course is reaping. Give me some instruction therefore, if you can, with reference to this.' 'Unless you appear,' rejoined he, 'to know as much about it as myself. You are aware, at least, that we must cut the corn.' 'How can I but be aware?' said I. 'When you cut it then,' said he, 'whether do you stand on the side from which the wind blows, or opposite to the wind?' 'Not opposite, certainly,' said I; 'for it would be annoying both to the eyes and to the hands to reap in the face of the stalks and ears.'[2] 2. 'And would you cut the ears off at the top,' said he, 'or cut close to the ground?' 'If the stalk of the corn were short,' said I, 'I should cut low, that the straw might be more serviceable; but if it were tall, I think I should do right to cut it in the middle, in order that

[1] Σκαλίας.] This word σκαλεὺς means both the instrument and the person that uses it. Breitenbach seems inclined to take it in the sense of persons in this passage; and this acceptation seems to suit better with sect. 13.

[2] That is, with the stalks and ears blowing in your face.

the threshers may not have any superfluous trouble, or the winnowers anything that they do not want. As to what is left on the ground, I think that if it is burned it may improve the soil, or, if it is thrown in among the manure, will increase the quantity of manure.' 3. 'You see then, my dear Socrates,' said he, 'how you are caught in the very fact, and convicted of knowing as much about reaping as I myself know.' 'I seem to do so, at least,' said I, 'and I would wish you to examine me whether I also know anything of threshing.' 'You know, doubtless, that people thresh their corn by means of working beasts.' 4. 'How can I but know?' said I; 'and I know that oxen, mules, and horses are all called working beasts alike.' 'Do you think, then, that these beasts know anything more than how to tread the corn when they are driven round?' 'What else,' said I, 'can beasts know?' 5. 'But that they may tread out just what is necessary, and that the treading may be everywhere equal, to whom, Socrates,' said he, 'do you give that in charge?' 'Unquestionably,' replied I, 'to the managers of the threshing; for they, by turning the corn about, and bringing under the feet of the beasts, from time to time, that part which is not yet trodden, would thus most effectually, doubtless, keep the threshing-floor[1] level, and execute the threshing with the greatest speed.' 'As to these points, then,' said he, 'you are not behind myself in knowledge.'

6. "'Then,' said I, 'Ischomachus, we will now proceed to clean the corn by winnowing it.' 'And tell me, Socrates,' said Ischomachus, 'do you know that if you begin on the windy side of the threshing-floor, your chaff will be carried over the whole floor?' 'Such must necessarily be the case,' said I. 7. 'It is consequently probable that it will fall upon the corn,' said he. 'It would indeed be hard,'[2] returned I, 'for chaff to be carried over the corn into the vacant part of the threshing-floor.' 'But if,' said he, 'a person should begin to winnow at the part opposite to the wind?' 'It is plain,' said I, 'that the chaff will at once fall into the recep-

[1] I read *τὸν ἅϊνον*, a happy emendation of Breitenbach's, who says that *ἅϊνος* means a circular threshing-floor, round which the oxen walked as they trod out the corn, referring to Ælian, Hist. An. ii. 25, iv. 25; Hesiod. Op. et Di. 595; Herod. ii. 14.

[2] Πολὺ γάρ ἐστιν.] *Magni laboris est.* Sturz. Lex.

tacle for it.'[1] 8. 'But when you have cleaned the corn as far as the middle of the floor,[2] whether will you winnow away the rest of the chaff[3] while the corn is still spread out, or after you have collected the cleaned portion of the corn to the margin of the floor,[4] into as narrow a space as possible?' 'After having collected the cleaned corn, certainly,' said I, 'so that the chaff may be carried over into the empty part of the floor, and that I may not have to winnow out the same chaff twice.' 9. 'Why, then, Socrates,' said he, 'you might even teach another person how corn may be soonest winnowed.' 'These things, therefore,' said I, 'I have known, even for a long time, without being aware of my knowledge; and I am considering whether I may not be unconsciously possessed of a knowledge of refining gold, of playing on the flute, and of painting; for nobody ever taught me these, any more than agriculture; but I see men practising other arts, as I also see them practising that of agriculture.'[5] 'Accordingly I told you, some time ago,' said Ischomachus, 'that the art of agriculture was one of the noblest of arts, inasmuch as it is extremely easy to learn.' 'Well,' said I, 'Ischomachus, I find that it is so; since I had gained indeed a knowledge of managing grain[6] without being aware that I was possessed of that knowledge.'

[1] This receptacle seems to have been some part of the threshing-floor between the corn to be winnowed and that which had been winnowed; a part perhaps hollowed out, or in some way parted off. *Breitenbach.*

[2] Breitenbach supposes that the corn to be cleaned was extended in a line across the floor, along which line the winnower proceeded.

[3] Τὰ ἄχυρα τὰ λοιπά.] By ἄχυρα, in this passage, Breitenbach understands the unwinnowed portion of the corn, or the chaff and corn mixed; for he says that the word has three significations, straw, corn and chaff mixed, and pure chaff.

[4] Πρὸς τὸν πόλον.] The commentators have not been able to satisfy their readers as to the exact signification of πόλος in this passage. Schneider thought that it signified the circular part in the middle of the floor, round which the oxen were driven; Breitenbach and Portus suppose that it means the circumference or extreme edge of the floor. The latter interpretation I have followed.

[5] If I have learned agriculture by seeing it practised, why should I not have learned other arts by seeing them practised?

[6] Σπόριον.] This word here signifies, not only sowing, but the whole treatment and management of seed or grain. *Breitenbach.*

CHAPTER XIX.

On the mode of planting trees, especially vines, figs, and olives. Nature teaches us, in many things, how we ought to act, if we will but notice what is to be seen around us.

1. "'Is planting of trees, too,' said I, 'a part of the art of agriculture?' 'Assuredly it is,' replied Ischomachus. 'How is it then,' said I, 'that I had a knowledge of what relates to grain, and have no knowledge of what concerns planting of trees?' 2. 'Have you then no knowledge of it?' inquired Ischomachus. 'How can I have any,' rejoined I, 'when I neither know in what sort of soil I ought to plant, nor how deep to dig for the tree,[1] nor how wide, nor how deep to put the tree in the ground, nor how a tree should be placed in the earth so as to grow best.' 3. 'Come then,' said Ischomachus, 'and learn what you do not know. You have seen, I presume,' continued he, 'that people dig trenches in the ground for trees.' 'I have indeed often seen it,' said I. 'Have you ever seen any one of them deeper than three feet?' 'No, by Jupiter,' replied I, 'nor deeper than two feet and a half.' 'And have you ever seen any one more than three feet in breadth?' 'No indeed,' said I, 'nor more than two feet.' 4. 'Well then,' said he, 'answer me this too; have you ever seen one less than a foot in depth?' 'No, certainly,' said I, 'nor less than a foot and a half; for the young trees would be uprooted in digging about them, if the roots were put so small a distance below the surface.' 5. 'You know this well enough, then, Socrates,' said he, 'that men do not dig for planting deeper than two feet and a half, nor less deep than one foot and a half.' 'This, indeed,' said I, 'must have fallen under my eyes, being so manifest.'

6. "'Well, then,' continued he, 'do you know the drier and moister sorts of ground when you see them?' 'The ground about Lycabettus,[2] and such as is similar to it, appears to me, at least,' said I, 'to be dry ground; and that which is in the

[1] Breitenbach is undoubtedly right in reading τῷ φυτῷ in this passage, instead of the common reading τὸ φυτόν. The correction is supported by τοῖς φυτοῖς immediately following, and by sect. 7.

[2] A hill near Athens.

Phalerian marsh[1] and such as resembles it, to be dry.' 7. 'Whether, then,' said he, 'would you dig a deep pit for a tree in a dry soil or in a moist one?' 'In a dry soil, assuredly,' answered I; 'for if you dig deep in a wet soil, you will come to water, and you will then be unable to plant your trees in the water.' 'You seem to me to answer well,' said he; 'but when your pits are dug, have you ever observed when you must plant the several kinds of trees?'[2] 8. 'Certainly,' said I.[3] 'When you wish them to grow up, then, as quick as possible, whether do you think that the sprout from the cutting of a vine, for instance, if you put it under well-dug earth, would shoot up sooner through such soft ground, or through undug earth against hard ground?' 'It is evident,' replied I, 'that it would shoot up through dug sooner than through undug ground.' 9. 'A layer of earth should then be put under the plant?'[4] 'How can it be otherwise?' said I. 'But whether do you think that if you place the cutting quite upright, pointing towards the heaven, it would thus take root better, or if you place it a little obliquely[5] in the earth thrown in beneath the surface, so that it may lie like a gamma turned up?'[6] 10. 'In the latter way, certainly; for so there would be more buds under the earth; and as it is from buds that I see shoots spring above the ground, I suppose that the buds which are below the ground produce also shoots in like manner? And when many shoots take root in the ground, I conclude that the plant will spring up quickly and with great vigour.' 11. 'Concern-

[1] A marsh in the δῆμος called Phaleros or Phalereus, which was in the tribe Æantis.

[2] These words appear to Breitenbach to be corrupt, as it was not likely that Ischomachus, after what he had said, would ask Socrates *when* he should plant different kinds of trees, but rather *in what sort of soil* he would plant them. He therefore proposes to read ὁπότερα δεῖ τιθέναι ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ [γῇ] τὰ φυτά.

[3] All the commentators consider that something is wanting here; and it is probable that Socrates added something to the word μάλιστα. *Breitenbach.*

[4] Οὐκοῦν ὑποβλητέα ἂν εἴη τῷ φυτῷ γῆ.] "Faut-il mettre sous la plante une couche de bonne terre?" *Gail.*

[5] A position which is sanctioned alike by nature and by the agreement of writers on the subject. *Schneider.*

[6] That is, standing on its point at the angle, like the upper part of a Y.

[7] Breitenbach very justly reads, πολλῶν δὲ φυομένων, instead of πολλῶν γὰρ φυομένων, which is in all preceding texts.

ing these points, then,' said he, 'you entertain the same notions with myself.' 'But would you merely heap up the earth around the plant, or tread it down hard?' 'I would tread it down,' said I, 'assuredly; for if it were not trodden down, I am well aware that the untrodden earth, if wetted by rain, would be turned into mud, and, if scorched by the sun, would become dry to the very bottom; so that there would be danger lest the roots of the plant, under a prevalence of wet weather, should be rotted by damp, or should be scorched up in hot weather, from the roots being heated through the dryness or porousness of the earth.'

12. "'About the planting of vines, then, Socrates,' continued he, 'you think in every respect exactly as I do.' 'And is it proper,' said I, 'to plant the fig-tree in the same way?' 'I think so,' said Ischomachus, 'and all other sorts of fruit-trees;[1] for of that which is right with regard to the planting of vines, why should you consider any part as inapplicable to the planting of other trees?' 13. 'But with respect to the olive, Ischomachus,' said I, 'how shall we plant it?' 'You are trying me as to this matter also,' replied he, 'when you know extremely well; for you observe, undoubtedly, that a deeper trench is dug for the olive, as it is dug chiefly by the way-sides; you observe that there are stumps[2] to each of the plants; and you see that moist earth[3] is laid at the tops of all the roots, and that that part of the stem which is at the surface of the ground is covered.' 14. 'All this I see,' said I. 'And as you see it,' said he, 'what part of it do you not understand? As to the shell,[4] for instance, my dear Socrates, do you not know how to place it on the moist earth?' 'Indeed,' said I, 'Ischomachus, I am ignorant of none of the things which you have mentioned; but I am thinking again[5]

[1] Ἀκρόδρυα πάντα.] *Arbores frugiferas omnes.* Leunclavius. The word properly meant trees that bore hard-shelled fruits, as nuts, chestnuts, acorns.

[2] Πρέμνα πᾶσι τοῖς φυτευτηρίοις.] The φυτευτήριον was a sucker or quickset; the πρέμνον was the lower part of the stem.

[3] Columella, xii. 2. 42, observes that dung mixed with ashes should be put round the stem, over the roots, and covered with moss, to prevent the sun from parching it.

[4] Τὸ ὄστρακον.] "It means whatever was put over the soft matter at the root of the plant, whether shells or any other substance." *Sturz. Lex. Xen.*

[5] Alluding to c. 19. sect. 1.

how it was that when you asked me briefly, a little while ago,[1] whether I understood the planting of trees, I said I did not understand it. I did not think, however, that I should be able to say anything as to the method of planting trees. But when you proceed to question me as to each particular point, I answer you. as you say, agreeably to what you, who are called a skilful agriculturist, think. 15. Is interrogation, then, Ischomachus,' added I, 'a mode of teaching? for I am now learning,' said I, 'the several particulars about which you question me; since, leading me through what I know, and pointing out something similar to it, which I did not think that I knew, you persuade me, I imagine, that I know that also.' 16. 'Then,' said Ischomachus, 'if I were to ask you also about a piece of money, whether it is good or not, might I not persuade you that you know how to distinguish good from counterfeit money? Or might I not persuade you, by asking you about flute-players, that you know how to play on the flute? Or, by asking you about painters, that you know how to paint? and similarly with regard to other things.' 'Perhaps you might,' said I, 'since you have persuaded me that I am skilful in agriculture, although I am well aware that nobody has taught me that art.' 17. 'The case is quite different from what you suppose, Socrates,' said he, 'but it is as I told you some time ago; agriculture is an art so kind and gentle towards mankind, that she readily makes those who can see and hear skilful in her pursuits. 18. She herself,' continued he, 'gives us many instructions how to attend on her with most success. The vine, for example, running up trees, wherever it has any tree near it, teaches us how to support it; by spreading out its leaves, while its bunches are yet tender, instructs us to cover whatever is at that season exposed to the sun; 19. by shedding its leaves when it is time for the grapes to become sweet by the sun's influence, shows us how to strip it, and promote the ripening of the fruit; and by exhibiting, through its great productiveness, some bunches at maturity and others still in a crude state, admonishes us to gather the fruit from it, as people pluck figs from the fig-trees, taking them off in succession as they swell into full growth.'

[1] C. 19, sect. 1, 2.

CHAPTER XX.

Socrates expresses his surprise that agriculture, which is so easy to be learned, is pursued with so little success by many of those who engage in it. Ischomachus shows that the cause of their failure is not in general want of knowledge, but want of diligence and care. How the father of Ischomachus used to act in farming lands.

1. "UPON this I observed, 'How is it, then, Ischomachus, that if matters concerning agriculture are so easy to be learned, and all men can alike understand what they ought to do in it, all do not pursue it with like success, but some live in abundance and have more than they want, while others cannot procure even the necessaries of life, but run into debt?' 2. 'I will tell you,' replied Ischomachus; 'for it is not knowledge, or want of knowledge, in husbandmen, that causes some to be rich and others to be poor; 3. nor will you ever hear a report spread that a farm has been ruined because the sower cast his seed unequally, or because the planter did not plant his rows of trees straight, or because, being ignorant what soil would rear vines, he planted them in a soil unsuitable for them, or because the farmer did not know that it is proper to prepare ground for sowing by letting it lie fallow, or because he did not know that it was good to mix manure with the soil. 4. But it is much more common to hear it said, "The man gets no subsistence from his ground, for he takes no care that seed be sown in it, or that manure be put on it." Or, "The man has no wine, for he takes no care to plant vines, or that those which are planted may bear him fruit." Or, "The man has no olives or figs; for he takes no care, nor uses any effort, to have them." 5. Such are the qualities, Socrates,' continued he, 'in which husbandmen differ from one another and consequently experience different ortune, much more than they differ in seeming to have found out some wise or unwise contrivance for doing their work. 6. So some commanders are more or less successful than others in certain military operations, not from difference in understanding, but evidently from difference in circumspection; for those things which all commanders, and most people who are not commanders, know, some will take

care to put in practice, and others will neglect them. 7. For instance, all know this, that it is better for men marching through an enemy's country to proceed in good order, so that they may come to battle, if it should be necessary, with advantage; but though they are all aware of this, some pay attention to it, and some do not. 8. All know that it is best to set a watch before the camp day and night; but some take care that this may be done, and others neglect it. 9. It would be hard to find a commander who does not know that, when his troops are to march through narrow passes, it is better to secure commanding positions beforehand, than not to do so; but some take the precaution to do this, and others disregard it. 10. So all agriculturists say of manure, for example, that it is an excellent thing for improving the soil, and see that it produces itself spontaneously; yet, though they know exactly how it is got, and that it is easy to collect abundance of it, some take care that it may be collected, and others take none. 11. The gods above send us rain, and all the hollow places become pools; the earth produces all manner of weeds, and he that would sow must clear his land from them; and if he throws those which he removes out of his way into the water, time itself would form them into that material in which the ground delights; for what sort of weeds, and what sort of earth indeed, will not become manure in stagnant water? 12. And in what respects ground requires improvement, whether it be too moist for sowing, or too much impregnated with salt for planting, everybody knows, as well as how water is drained off by trenches, and how the saltness of soil is corrected by mixing with it substances free from salt, whether moist or dry; but some attend to these matters, and some do not. 13. Or even if a person be utterly ignorant what the ground can produce, and has had no opportunity of seeing either fruits or plants from it, or even of hearing from any one a true description of it, is it not much more easy for any one to make trial of the earth than of a horse or of a man? for it exhibits nothing for the purpose of deceit, but sets forth plainly and truly, with the utmost simplicity, what it can do and what it cannot. 14. The earth seems to me to distinguish very effectively the idle and the diligent among mankind, by rendering everything easy to be known and learned; for it is not possible in regard to agriculture, as it is in regard to other

arts, for those who do not practise it to excuse themselves by saying that they do not know it; for all know respecting the earth, that when it is well treated it makes a good return. 15. But idleness in regard to agriculture[1] is a sure proof of a base mind; for no one can persuade himself that a man can live without food, and he that neither knows any other lucrative art, nor is willing to cultivate the ground, gives evident proof that he meditates to live by stealing, or plundering, or begging, or that he is altogether out of his senses.' 16. He observed, too, that it made a great difference as to agriculture being profitable or unprofitable, when, where several workmen are employed, one farmer takes care that his workmen may be the full time at their work, and another is neglectful of this point; 'for one workman,' said he, 'easily makes a difference in the labour of ten, by working his full time, and another makes a difference in it by leaving his work before the end of his time. 17. And to allow men to loiter over their work through the whole day may plainly make a difference of half in the whole complement of work. 18. Just as in travelling along a road, two men have sometimes made a difference between them of a hundred stadia in two hundred, through difference in speed, though both were young and in good health, as the one persevered in proceeding on the object for which he had started, and the other was irresolute in mind, and rested himself by fountains and in the shade, losing himself in contemplation, and courting gentle breezes. 19. So in regard to work, those labourers who apply to that to which they are appointed, and those who do not, but who find pretexts for not exerting themselves, and allow themselves to trifle away their time, exhibit a great difference in the execution of it. 20. To perform work well, or to attend to it insufficiently, makes as much difference as to be wholly industrious or wholly idle. When men are digging the ground, for instance,[2] in order that vines may be cleared of

[1] 'Αλλ' ἡ ἐν γεωργίᾳ ἐστί, κ. τ. λ.] Sc. τέχνη. This is the common reading; but it has never satisfied the critics in general. Various emendations have been proposed. Breitenbach omits the ἡ. Zeune and Schæfer would read 'Αλλ' ἡ γεωργία, to which Schneider does not object. But Jacobs very happily conjectures ἡ ἐν γεωργίᾳ ἀργία, which Kerst approves, and which I have followed.

[2] "Οταν σκαπτόντων.] Breitenbach thinks that we should read οἷον ὅταν. Σκαπτόντων is the genitive absolute. Comp. Cyrop. iii. 3. 54.

weeds, and dig in such a manner that the weeds spring up in greater numbers and vigour than before, how can you say that such work is anything but idleness?[1] 21. Such are the causes, then, that ruin households, much more than extreme want of knowledge; for when outgoings proceed constantly from the family resources, and work is not done with such profit as to balance the demands, we must no longer wonder if such a state of things produces want instead of abundance.

22. "'For those who are able to attend to their affairs, however, and who will apply themselves to agriculture earnestly, my father both practised himself, and taught me, a most successful method of making profit;[2] for he would never allow me to buy ground already cultivated, but exhorted me to purchase such as, from want of care or want of means in those who had possessed it, was left untilled and unplanted; 23. as he used to say that well-cultivated land cost a great sum of money, and admitted of no improvement, and he considered that land which was unsusceptible of improvement did not give the same pleasure to the owner as other land; but he thought that whatever a person had or brought up, that was continually growing better, afforded him the highest gratification. But nothing exhibits greater improvement than ground, when it is brought from a state of neglect into one of complete fertility. 24. For be assured, my dear Socrates,' continued he, 'that I myself have already made several pieces of ground worth many times their former value; and while this mode of proceeding is of such importance, it is also so easy to learn, that, now you have once heard it, you will go away as skilful in it as myself, and will communicate it, if you think proper, to some other person. 25. My father, indeed, neither learned it from anybody himself, nor was at great pains in finding it out; but he used to say that from his love of agriculture, and devotion to labour, he was fond of having land of that nature, in order that he might have something to do, and find pleasure and profit at the same time; for my father, Socrates,' added he, 'was naturally, as I consider, the most devoted to agriculture of all the inhabit-

[1] Πῶς οὖτως οὐκ ἀργὸν ἂν φήσαις εἶναι;] With ἀργὸν Weiske understands τοῦτο τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι, and observes that the expression is an oxymoron. Breitenbach understands οὕτω σκάπτειν.

[2] Ἀνυτικωτάτην χρημάτισιν.] *Quaestum qui maximè juvat.* Breitenbach.

ants of Athens.' 26. Hearing him say this, I then put this question to him: 'Whether did your father, Ischomachus, keep possession of all the farms that he thus improved, or did he sell them, if he could get a good price for them?' 'He sold them, I must tell you,' replied Ischomachus; 'but he immediately bought other land instead of them, and uncultivated too, on account of his fondness for labour.' 27. 'You say, then, Ischomachus,' returned I, 'that your father was by nature really not less fond of cultivating the ground than corn-merchants are of getting corn; for these traders, from their strong desire of obtaining grain, sail in quest of it wherever they hear that it is most abundant, crossing over the Ægean, Euxine, and Sicilian Seas; and when they have got as much as they can, they bring it away over the water, stowing it in the vessel in which they themselves sail. 28. And when they are in want of money, they do not dispose of their freight at hazard, or wherever they may happen to be; but wherever they hear that corn will fetch the highest price, and that men set the greatest store by it, they carry it thither and offer it them for sale. In a similar way your father seems to have been eminently fond of agriculture.' To this Ischomachus replied, 'You are jesting, Socrates; but I, nevertheless, consider those to be fond of architecture who build houses and sell them, and then build others.' 'I indeed swear to you by Jupiter,' replied I, 'that I believe you, and think[1] that all men naturally love those things from which they suppose that they will get profit.'

[1] Ἢ μὴν πιστεύειν σοι φύσει νομίζειν, κ. τ. λ.] Before φύσει we must understand ὥστε. In conformity with this acceptation of the passage, Steger proposes to read νομίζων. Leunclavius and some others have thought that σὲ should be supplied before νομίζειν. But this seems inconsistent with what precedes. Socrates previously intimated that he thought Ischomachus's father was fond of agriculture as a corn-merchant is fond of corn, namely, because he gets profit by it; and he now concludes by vowing that he thinks all men like that from which they get profit.

CHAPTER XXI.

Socrates expresses his satisfaction at the information which Ischomachus had given him. Ischomachus observes that the art of ruling and directing others, which is of the utmost importance in agriculture, as well as in other great undertakings, is difficult of attainment. It cannot be wholly learned from others, or attained thoroughly, unless there be great natural ability, power of self-control, and something of divine magnanimity.

1. "'I AM thinking, Ischomachus,' continued I, 'how admirably you have adapted your whole train of argument to support your proposition; for you laid it down as a fact that the art of agriculture was the most easy to be learned of all arts; and I am now convinced, from everything that you have said, that such is indisputably the case.' 2. 'Very well,' said Ischomachus, 'but as to that which is common to all pursuits, whether agricultural, or political, or domestic, or military, namely, that he who would excel in them must be capable of directing others, I entirely agree with you, Socrates,[1] that some persons greatly excel others in judgment; 3. as we see in a galley,' continued he, 'when the crew are out at sea, and have to accomplish a certain distance in the course of the day, some of the celeustæ[2] can act and speak in such a manner as to excite the spirits of the men to voluntary exertion, while others are so dull that the rowers take more than double the time in performing the same course. The one party, as well the celeustes as those who are directed by him, go on shore covered with perspiration, and praising one another, while the other party arrive indeed unfatigued, but detesting their officer, and detested by him. 4. So among generals,' added he, 'one differs from another in the same way; for some bring out troops that are unwilling to expose themselves either to toil or to danger, thinking it of no importance, and testifying no readiness, to obey their commander, except so far as is absolutely necessary, or even

[1] See c. 13, sect. 4.

[2] We have no English word for the κελευστὴς in an ancient galley. He was the man who, by voice or signal, or both, gave time to the rowers. Virgil calls him *hortator*, Æn. iii. 128; and he was sometimes termed *portisculus* and *pausarius*. He was somewhat similar to the modern coxswain.

taking a pride in opposing his wishes; and such generals produce soldiers that, whatever disgrace happens to them, are incapable of feeling the least shame at it. 5. But noble, excellent, and skilful commanders will render these very same troops, and often others which they unite with them, ashamed to do anything dishonourable, and convinced that it is better to obey orders; taking delight individually in showing obedience, and exerting themselves collectively, without the least reluctance, whenever exertion is requisite. 6. As there appears in certain private individuals, indeed, a liking for labour, so there is produced in a whole army, by the influence of good officers, a love of exertion, and an ambition of being seen by their commander while they are executing any honourable achievement. 7. And commanders, towards whom those who follow them are thus affected, become eminently powerful; and these, assuredly, are not such as keep their own bodies in better condition than those of their men, or hurl javelins or use the bow best, or have the best horses, or even offer themselves to danger before others as the best horsemen or targeteers, but such as can inspire their troops with the conviction that they must follow them even through fire or any peril whatever. 8. Such commanders, whom numbers follow with such sentiments, we may justly call men of powerful minds; the general may be truly said to march with a strong arm, whose will so many arms are willing to obey; and he is in reality a great man who is able to execute great things rather by strength of mind than by strength of body. 9. So in private occupations, whether it be a bailiff or a foreman[1] that gives directions, he that can render those under him zealous, energetic, and diligent at their work, is the man that directs their efforts to advantage, and produces abundance of profit. 10. And if, when the master, who has the power to punish the idle and to reward the industrious among his workmen in the highest degree, shows himself in the field, the men exhibit no extraordinary exertion, I should certainly feel little esteem for him; but one at whose appearance they put themselves in motion, and by whom an increase

[1] Ἐπίτροπος——ἐπιστάτης.] Ἐπίτροπος, says Sturz in his Lexicon, appears to have been a chief slave or freedman, who overlooked agricultural labourers; ἐπιστάτης, a freeborn citizen, who had the charge of any work whatever. Breitenbach adopts this interpretation.

of spirit is produced in each of his servants, with an emulation of one another, and an ambition which has the best effect on every one, I should regard as having something of a kingly character. 11. Such influence is of the greatest importance, as it seems to me, in every pursuit, when anything is to be effected by means of a number of men, and in agriculture as well as in any other occupation. Yet I do not say, assuredly, that it is possible to acquire such a talent by once seeing it exercised, or by hearing of it once; but I affirm that he who would be able to do such duties efficiently has need of instruction, and should be of a happy natural disposition,[1] and, what is of the most importance, should have something of the divine nature. 12. For this art of ruling over willing subjects appears to me by no means human merely, but to have in it a portion of the divinity; and it is evidently accorded only to those who are truly accomplished in the duties of wisdom. But to tyrannize over rebellious subjects, the gods assign, as it seems to me, to those whom they think deserving to live as Tantalus is said to live in Tartarus, perpetually in dread lest he should die a second time."[2]

[1] Δεῖν——φύσεως ἀγαθῆς ὑπάρξαι.] The genitive, observes Breitenbach, is governed by δεῖν, and the infinitive is attached as in Eurip. Med. 1399: χρήζω στόματος παίδων προσπτύξασθαι. The exact sense therefore is, "there is need of a good disposition to be," to be in the individual.

[2] By being crushed by the fall of the stone suspended over his head.

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

ON

THE BANQUET.

THE Banquet described by Xenophon was held at the house of Callias at Athens, to celebrate the victory of the youth Autolycus, a favourite of Callias, in the pancratium, in the fourth year of the eighty-ninth Olympiad, B. C. 424. Xenophon himself was present at it, as he states at the commencement of the first chapter.

The speakers in the conversation held at the Banquet are,

1. *Callias*, a wealthy Athenian, much given to luxury and licentiousness. At the time of the Banquet he had just come into possession of great property on the death of his father Hipponicus. He commanded the heavy-armed infantry of the Athenians when Iphicrates defeated the Spartans, B. C. 392. About twenty years afterwards he was one of the commissioners deputed by the Athenians to negotiate a peace with the Lacedæmonians, as related by Xenophon, Hellen. vi. 3, on which occasion Xenophon attributes to him a speech of much more sound than sense. Socrates is made to give him excellent advice in the Banquet, but it had little effect on him; for he continued to waste his substance in ostentatious luxury, until he was reduced to absolute want, as appears from Athenæus, xii. p. 537, and Lysias pro Aristoph. Bon. sect. 50. In the Protagoras of Plato, the scene of which is also laid at his house, he is represented in much the same light as in the Banquet of Xenophon.

2. *Autolycus*, a handsome youth, the son of Lycon. A statue of him by Leochares was placed in the Prytaneum at Athens, as mentioned by Pliny, H. N. xxxiv. 8, and Pausanias, Att. c. 18, and Bœot. c. 32.

3. *Lycon*, the father of Autolycus. Nothing more is known of him.

4. *Niceratus*, a friend of Callias, recently married. He speaks of himself as being accounted somewhat avaricious, and as having learned by heart all the poems of Homer. He is supposed to have been put to death by the Thirty Tyrants.

5. *Socrates.*

6. *Antisthenes*, a friend and disciple of Socrates, greatly attached to him. He was the founder of the sect of the Cynics.

7. *Hermogenes*, a nephew of Callias, and a man of great honour and virtue. He had been possessed of property in land, but had lost it in the wars between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, and was reduced to poverty. He is highly commended by Socrates in the Memorabilia, ii. 10.

8. *Critobulus*, the son of Crito. He was newly married, but licentious and extravagant, as appears in the second chapter.

9. *Charmides*, son of Glaucon, and cousin to Critias, a young man of handsome person and great ability, but of excessive diffidence, which unfitted him for taking any efficient part in public affairs. Yet he was one of those who were appointed to govern the Peiræeus under the Thirty Tyrants, and was killed in a skirmish with Thrasybulus, as related by Xenophon, Hellen. ii. 4. 19.

10. *Philippus*, a buffoon, who was not invited, but who requested, after the feast was begun, to be admitted to entertain the company.

11. *A man of Syracuse*, accompanied by a girl and boy who played on the flute and the lyre, and another girl who danced and performed tricks.

Xenophon does not mention anything said by himself at the Banquet. He appears to have been about twenty at the time that it took place. See the "Biographical Notice" of Xenophon.

THE BANQUET.

CHAPTER I.

Occasion of the Banquet. Socrates and his friends invited to it by Callias. The company admire the beauty of Autolycus. Philippus, a buffoon, who requests to be allowed to entertain the company, is admitted.

1. BUT[1] it appears to me that not only what is done by honourable and virtuous men in the serious transactions of life is worthy of record, but also what they do in their hours of amusement; and some occurrences at which I was present, and from which I form this opinion, I design to relate.

2. At the great festival of Minerva[2] there was a celebration of equestrian games; and Callias, the son of Hipponicus, having a great affection for Autolycus, who was still quite a boy, took him, after he had gained the victory in the pancratium, to the spectacle. When the equestrian games were over, he took Autolycus and his father with him, and went away to his house at the Peiræeus; and Niceratus accompanied him. 3. Happening to see, however, Socrates, Critobulus, Hermogenes, Antisthenes, and Charmides discoursing together, he desired one of his people to conduct Autolycus and his friends to his house, while he himself went up to Socrates and his party, and said, 4. "I have met with you at a very fortunate time; for I am going to have Autolycus

[1] This piece commences very abruptly, and as if it had been attached to something else.

[2] Ἦν μὲν γὰρ Παναθηναίων τῶν μεγάλων ἱπποδρομία.] There were two festivals to Minerva, called Panathenæa, the lesser celebrated every year, and the greater every fifth year.

and his father for my guests, and I think that my entertainment will appear far more splendid, if the dining-room[1] be graced with men of refined minds,[2] such as yourselves, than if it be filled with generals, captains of horse, and candidates for office."[3]

5. Socrates replied, "You are always jesting upon us, and making light of us, because you have given large sums of money to Protagoras, and Gorgias, and Prodicus, and many others, to learn wisdom from them; while you see that we are but workers for ourselves in the pursuit of wisdom."

6. "Hitherto, also,"[4] replied Callias, "I used to conceal from you much that I had to say, which was full of wisdom; but now, if you will come with me, I will show you that I am a person deserving of very great consideration."

7. Those who were with Socrates thanked him first of all, as was proper, for his invitation, but did not make any promise to sup with him. As he showed, however, that he should be much displeased if they did not go with him, they accompanied him; and soon afterwards his other guests,[5] some of whom had been exercising and perfuming themselves, and others bathing, began to arrive. 8. Autolycus seated himself[6] next to his father, and the others took their places on the couches in suitable order.[7]

[1] Ὁ ἀνδρών.] The apartment in which the men assembled, as distinguished from those appointed for the women.

[2] Ἐκκεκαθαρμένοις τὰς ψυχάς.] Purified or polished as to their minds. "A metaphor," says Weiske, "from the polishing of metals."

[3] Σπουδάρχαις.] Not only persons seeking employment when they have none, but persons seeking employment in addition to what they have. *Weiske.*

[4] Callias jestingly assents to what Socrates had said, and adds something to it, to render the party more desirous to hear what he had to say. *Weiske*

[5] I have inserted the words "other guests." What is said plainly refers, as Schneider observes, not to Socrates and those who accompanied him, but to the other guests of Callias. There were several present, who, like Xenophon, are not mentioned as having taken any part in the conversation.

[6] The word ἐκαθέζετο is applied to Autolycus, and κατεκλίθησαν to the other guests; because, as Weiske remarks, the younger and inferior of the company at entertainments *sat*, but the others *reclined*. In proof of this he refers to Plutarch's Symposium; Sueton. Claud. c. 32; Tacit. Ann. xiii. 16; and to Potter's Archæol. Gr. iv. 20.

[7] Ὥσπερ εἰκὸς.] Ernesti was dissatisfied with these words, observing that they are hardly ever used in the sense of ὥσπερ ἔτυχον, the sense in

Whoever then had observed what immediately took place would have thought that beauty was naturally something kingly, especially if a person possessed it in conjunction with bashfulness and modesty, as Autolycus possessed it at that time; 9. for, in the first place, as a brilliant light, when it appears in the darkness of the night, attracts the eyes of every one towards it, so the beauty of Autolycus drew upon him the gaze of all on that occasion; and there was no one of those who looked upon him that did not feel some impression produced on their feelings by him. Some grew silent, and others composed themselves into a settled kind of attitude. 10. All, doubtless, who are inspired by any god whatever appear objects worthy of attention; but those who are inspired by other divinities are so influenced as to assume a sterner look, to speak in a tone that impresses with awe, and to exhibit gestures of greater vehemence; while such as are excited by the gentler influence of Love assume more of affection in their looks, sink their voice into greater softness, and manifest in their gestures greater nobleness of soul; and as Callias then exhibited such indications under the influence of love, he was an object of admiration to all who were initiated in the mysteries of that god.

11. They were proceeding with their supper in silence, as if it had been imposed upon them by some superior power, when Philippus, a jester, knocking at the door, requested him who answered it to announce who he was, and why he wished to be entertained there, saying that he had come prepared with everything necessary for supping at another person's house; and adding that his servant was in great trouble, as he had brought nothing, and was without his dinner. 12. Callias, on hearing this message, said, "It would be unbecoming, my friends, to grudge him the shelter of a roof; let him therefore enter." At the same time he cast his eyes on Autolycus, to ascertain, as was evident, what he might think of jesting.[1] 13. But Philippus, presenting himself in the

which they must here be taken, if they are allowed to stand. He would therefore read ὡς ἔτυχον, or εἰκῇ, or something similar. Schneider transfers the words to another place, after ἐκαθέζετο. Dindorf adheres to the usual reading.

[1] What effect it was likely that the buffoonery of Philippus would produce upon him, as he may be supposed, from being so young, never to have seen anything of the kind before. *Schneider.*

room where the entertainment was held, said, "That I am a jester you all know; and I come boldly before you, thinking that it is more of a jest to come uninvited to a feast than invited." "Take your place on a couch, then," said Callias; "for those who are present are full of seriousness, as you see, and may perhaps be in want of amusement."

14. As they went on with the entertainment, Philippus proceeded without delay to give utterance to something jocular, that he might fulfil the object for which he was invited to feasts on all occasions. But as he could not excite even a smile, he was evidently much troubled; and a little after he made a second attempt to say something ludicrous. But as they did not even then laugh at what he said, he grew silent in the middle of the entertainment, and sat with his garment thrown over his head. 15. Callias immediately said, "What is this, Philippus? Has any sudden pain seized you?" "Yes, by Jupiter, Callias," said he with a groan; "and a great pain; for, as laughter is banished from among men, my employment is at an end; since, heretofore, I was invited to feasts in order that the guests might be amused with laughter through my means; but now with what view will any one invite me? for I should no more be able to talk seriously than to make myself immortal; and certainly no one will invite me in the expectation of being invited in return, since it is unusual for any entertainment ever to be brought into my house." As he said this, he wiped his eyes, and evidently appeared, by his tone of voice, to be weeping. 16. They all then began to console him, signifying that they were likely to laugh again, and bade him go on with his meal; while Critobulus laughed heartily at the commiseration expressed for him. Philippus, when he heard the laugh, uncovered his face, and exhorting his soul to take courage, as there would yet be engagements[1] for him, resumed his eating.

[1] Συμβολαί.] In exhorting himself to take courage, he plays on the ambiguity of the word *συμβολαί*, which means either engagements in a field of battle or engagements to contribute to a feast.

CHAPTER II.

A Syracusan, with two girls and a boy, exhibits various feats to entertain the company. Callias proposes to introduce perfumes; Socrates dissuades him, and makes some remarks on the subject. While one of the girls astonishes the company by her dancing, Socrates observes that the female mind is susceptible of cultivation. He then discusses with Antisthenes the question whether virtue can be taught, and enlarges on the advantages of learning to dance. Buffoonery of Philippus.

1. WHEN the tables had been removed, and the company had made their libations and sung the pæan,[1] a man of Syracuse came in to divert them, bringing with him a girl that played excellently on the flute, and a dancing-girl, one of those that can perform wonderful feats; he had also an extremely handsome boy, that could play on the lyre and dance with the utmost grace. He was in the practice of showing these children as wonders, and receiving money for the exhibition. 2. When the girl had played to them on the flute, and the boy on his lyre, and both of them appeared to please the company greatly, Socrates said, "By Jupiter, Callias, you entertain us excellently; for you have not only given us a banquet of perfect faultlessness, but you present us with the highest gratifications for our eyes and our ears." 3. "What, then," said Callias, "if they should bring us also in some perfumes, that we may be gratified with fragrant odours?" "By no means," rejoined Socrates; "for as one sort of dress is becoming to a woman, and another to a man, so one kind of odour is suitable to a man, and another to a woman; and certainly no man perfumes himself for the sake of another man; but women, especially if they are newly married,[2] as the

[1] As *pæan*, though it properly signified a hymn to Apollo, was used in a general sense for a hymn to any deity, I should consider that the pæan sung on the present occasion was addressed to Minerva, in honour of whom the feast of the Panathenæa was celebrated. *Weiske.*

[2] As women use perfumes themselves, says Zenne, they may wish to be regaled with a pleasant perfume from their husbands. Women newly married appear to have been thought by Socrates to be more nice in this respect than those who had been married some time. Schneider reads, with Casaubon and Henry Stephens, *μύρου μέν τι καὶ προσδέονται*; interrogatively, which is equivalent, he observes, to *μύρου οὐ προσδέονται*. But this seems hardly to suit the drift of the passage. Dindorf reads *προσδέοιντ' ἄν*, without interrogation.

wives of Niceratus and Critobulus here, may like something of perfume, as they themselves cast a perfume around them; while to men the smell of oil from the gymnasia is more pleasing, if in use with them, than that of perfumes to women, and, if disused, is more eagerly desired. 4. Every one who has anointed himself with perfumes, whether a slave or a free man, casts a scent alike; but the odour of honourable exercises must be the offspring of much practice and time, if it is to be sweet and worthy of freeborn men."

5. Lycon then observed, "Such odours may be for young men; but what odour ought we, who no longer frequent the gymnasia, to exhale?" "That of honour and virtue, assuredly," said Socrates. "And whence can a person get such a perfume?" "Not, certainly, from the sellers of perfumes," replied Socrates. "From whence, then?" "Theognis has said,

Ἐσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀπ' ἐσθλὰ διδάξεαι· ἢν δὲ κακοῖσι
Συμμίσγῃς, ἀπολεῖς καὶ τὸν ἐόντα νόον.

'From the good you will learn what is good; but if you associate with the bad, you will lose whatever understanding is in you.'" "Do you hear that, my son?" asked Lycon. "Yes, assuredly," said Socrates, "and he profits by such instruction; for when he wished to become victor in the pancratium, having consulted with you,[1] * * * * again, whoever shall seem to him to be most fit for giving instruction in these pursuits, he will become his pupil." 6. Here many spoke; and one of them said, "Where then will he find a master for this accomplishment?"[2] Another said, "That it could not even be taught;" and another, that "if anything could be learned, this could." 7. Socrates however said, "Since then this is a matter for controversy, let us put it off to another time; and let us at present conclude what is before us; for I see that dancing-girl standing waiting, and somebody bringing in hoops for her."

8. Upon this, the other girl began to play on the flute to her; and a person who stood by the dancing-girl handed her hoops to the number of twelve; and she, taking them, began

[1] Some words are lost here.

[2] The attainment of virtue, to which Socrates seems to have alluded in the words that have fallen out of the text.

to dance, and, at the same time, threw up the hoops, which kept whirling round, guessing how high she must throw them, so as to catch them in time with the music. 9. Socrates observed, "From many other things, my friends, and from what this girl is now doing, it is apparent that the talent of women is not at all inferior to that of men, though they are wanting in bodily vigour[1] and strength; so that whosoever of you has a wife, let him teach her with confidence whatever he would wish to have her know." 10. "How is it, then, my dear Socrates," said Antisthenes, "that, if you think thus, you do not also educate Xanthippe, instead of having a wife the most ill-conditioned of all women that are in existence, and, as I believe, of all that ever were and ever will be?" "Because," replied Socrates, "I see that those who wish to be skilled in horsemanship do not choose the best-tempered horses, but those of high mettle; for they think that if they can master such animals, they will easily manage any other horses. So likewise I, wishing to converse and associate with mankind, have chosen this wife, well knowing that if I shall be able to endure her, I shall easily bear the society of all other people." This remark was thought to have been made by no means inapplicably.[2]

11. Soon afterwards a hoop was brought in, stuck round with swords standing upright. Into the midst of these swords the dancing-girl leaped head foremost, and sprang out head foremost over them, so that the spectators were struck with terror, lest she should be hurt; but she continued to perform these feats with boldness and without injury. 12. Socrates then called to Antisthenes, and said, "I do not think that those who witness this exhibition will hereafter be disposed to deny that courage may be taught, when this person, woman as she is, throws herself so courageously into the midst of swords." 13. "Would it not then be an excellent thing for this Syracusan," replied Antisthenes, "to exhibit his dancing-girl to the whole city, and announce that he will qualify

[1] All the editions, except the small one of Tauchnitz, have *γνώμης δὲ καὶ ἰσχύος*. Of *γνώμης* no commentator has known what to make. The Latin translators have rendered it by *consilium*. I have adopted *ῥώμης*, with Tauchnitz's editor, from a conjecture of Lange.

[2] *Οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ σκοποῦ.*] "Not wide of the mark." It was thought, says Schneider, an excellent reply to the question of Antisthenes.

all the Athenians, if they will give him money, to march full tilt against the lances of the enemy?" 14. "By Jupiter," exclaimed Philippus, "I should like to see Peisander,[1] the popular orator, learning how to run full butt upon swords, who now, from being unable even to look upon weapons, declines to take the field with his fellow-citizens."

15. The boy then began to dance; and Socrates remarked, "See how this boy, naturally beautiful as he is, nevertheless appears still more beautiful when he puts himself into graceful attitudes than he appeared when he was at rest." "You seem to me," rejoined Charmides, "to be inclined to praise the master who taught him to dance." 16. "Such is the case, indeed," replied Socrates, "for I was thinking even of something more; I mean that no part of the body is inactive in dancing, but that the neck, and the legs, and the hands, are alike exercised, so that he who would have his body improved in suppleness should learn to dance; and I," he continued, addressing himself to the Syracusan, "would gladly learn the movements of the dance from you." 17. "What profit, then, will you gain from them?" asked the Syracusan. "I shall dance, certainly," replied Socrates. At this reply all the company laughed. But Socrates, with a very serious countenance, said, "Do you laugh at me? Is it then for this reason, that I wish, by exercise, to enjoy better health, or to eat and sleep with greater pleasure, or because I desire such a kind of exercise, that it may not be with me as with the runners in the foot-race, who become stout in the legs and narrow in the shoulders, or as with boxers, who become broad in the shoulders and thin in the legs, but that, exercising my whole body, I may render every part equally strong? 18. Or do you laugh at this, that I shall be under no necessity of seeking for a companion in my exercise, or to unrobe myself, being an old man, before a number of people, but that an apartment which will hold seven couches[2] will be large enough for me (as this apartment has now been sufficient for this boy to heat himself even to perspiration), and that I

[1] Philippus doubtless means the factious demagogue who promoted the establishment of the four hundred.—See Thucyd. viii. 53. *Bach.*

[2] Οἶκος ἑπτάκλινος.] Οἶκος is here used in the sense of a room or apartment, as οἴκημα immediately afterwards. The size of an apartment was expressed by the number of couches that it would conveniently hold.

shall exercise myself under a roof in the winter, or, when heat in the summer is excessive, in the shade of the trees? 19. Or do you laugh at this, that, having a belly somewhat larger than is becoming, I wish to reduce it to a more moderate size? Do you not know that Charmides here found me dancing one morning lately?" "Yes, indeed," said Charmides, "and at first I was astonished, and feared that you were mad; but when I heard from you something similar to what you are now saying, I went home, and there—I did not indeed dance, for I never learned to dance,—but I waved my arms about,[1] for that I knew how to do." 20. "Undoubtedly," observed Philippus, "since you appear to have legs of equal weight with your shoulders, so that if you should present yourself to be weighed, the lower parts against the upper, by the stewards of the market, as people bring loaves to be weighed,[2] you seem likely to escape being fined." "Call me in, then, my dear Socrates," said Callias, "when you are going to learn to dance, that I may stand opposite to you, and learn with you."

21. "But let the flute-player," said Philippus, "play for me too, that I may also dance." When he stood up, he proceeded to imitate the dancing of the boy and that of the girl. 22. And whereas the company had previously commended the boy, as appearing still more graceful when he was engaged in gesticulation, Philippus showed, on the other hand, that whatever part of his body he moved, his whole body became still more ridiculous than it naturally was; and whereas they had admired the girl, because, by bending herself backward, she imitated a wheel, he attempted to imitate a wheel by bending his body forward in a similar way. And at last, because they had praised the boy for exercising his whole body while he danced, Philippus ordered the flute-player to play a

[1] Ἐχειρονόμουν.] Χειρονομεῖν was to exercise the arms, as the legs are exercised in dancing, or as we exercise them in sparring or with the dumb-bells. See Plato de Legg. viii. 2, where it is used as an equivalent to σκιαμαχεῖν, and where Ast has collected a great number of passages in illustration of the word. Suidas says that χειρονομεῖν was sometimes used in the same signification as πυκτεύειν. See also Quintilian, i. 11, 17. Χειρονομία was also at times an accompaniment of dancing; and Hesychius tells us that the word χειρονόμος was sometimes used for ὀρχηστής.

[2] Hence it appears that the ἀγορανόμοι, or stewards of the market, saw that loaves were not sold under a certain weight. *Schneider.*

more lively air, and tossed about his legs, and hands, and head, and every part of him at the same time. 13. When he was tired, he threw himself back on the couch, and said, "There is now a proof, my friends, that my mode of dancing affords excellent exercise; for I am thirsty; and let the attendant therefore fill me the large cup." "Certainly," said Callias, "and let him fill it for us too, since we are thirsty with laughing at your performance." 14. "I too, my friends, said Socrates, "shall be very well pleased to drink; for really wine, by moistening the spirits,[1] lulls cares to rest, as mandragora puts men to sleep, and wakes up pleasant thoughts, as oil excites a flame. 15. It seems also to me that the bodies of men are affected in the same way as things that grow in the ground; for they, when the gods make them drink in too great abundance, are unable to rise, or to let the breezes pass through among them;[2] but when they imbibe just so much moisture as to be refreshed by it, they both grow very upright, and flourish, and come to bear fruit. 16. So if we, likewise, pour into ourselves drink in too great quantities, our bodies and minds will soon become powerless, and we scarcely shall be able to breathe, much less to articulate anything; but if our servants refresh us from time to time with small cups, as with gentle dew (that I also may speak in the phraseology of Gorgias),[3] then, not being forced to grow intoxicated with wine, but being aptly persuaded by it, we shall arrive at more agreeable mirth." 17. These remarks gave pleasure to all; and Philippus added that it became cup-bearers to imitate able charioteers, who drive their chariots round the course still quicker and quicker. The cup-bearers accordingly did as he suggested.

[1] Ἀρδων τὰς ψυχὰς.] *Dum animos rigat.* Dindorf. *Arrosant nos esprits.* Gail.

[2] Ταῖς αὔραις διαπνεῖσθαι.] "To be blown through by the breezes."

[3] Gorgias being mentioned above as one of the instructors of Callias. To Xenophon's πυκνὰ ἐπιψεκάζωσιν there is an allusion in Cicero de Senectute, c. 14. *Pocula delectant me, sicut in Symposio Xenophontis, minuta atque rorantia.*

CHAPTER III.

Socrates proposes that they should engage in some improving conversation, rather than spend all their time in attending to music and dancing. Each of the speakers in the dialogue declares on what accomplishment or possession he most values himself.

1. SOON after this, the boy played on his lyre, which was put in tune with the flute, and sang; when all the company applauded, and Charmides also said, "It appears to me, my friends, that as Socrates said with regard to wine, so likewise this union of the beauty and voices of these children lulls anxieties to sleep, and gives rise to feelings of love." 2. Socrates then again observed, "These children, my friends, appear capable of entertaining us; but I am quite sure that we consider ourselves far superior to them; and would it not then be unbecoming to us, if, while we associate together, we should not make even an attempt to entertain one another?" Several then exclaimed, "Do you then instruct us, Socrates, in what kind of discourse we may engage, so as best to effect that object." 3. "I, then, for my own part," replied Socrates, "would gladly claim from Callias the performance of his promise; for he said; certainly, that if we would dine with him, he would give us a sample of his wisdom." "And I assuredly will give you a sample," rejoined Callias, "if you will all contribute to the conversation whatever valuable knowledge each of you possesses." "Assuredly, then," said Socrates, "no one will make any opposition to your terms, or offer any reason why each of us should not communicate to the company the most estimable knowledge that he has." 4. "I will then tell you," said Callias, "on what account I most value myself; for it is this, that I think myself capable of making men better." "Whether is it by teaching them some mechanical art," inquired Antisthenes, "or by instructing them in honour and virtue?" "Is justice a virtue?" asked Callias. "Certainly," replied Antisthenes, "it is most indisputably so; since, though valour and knowledge appear to be sometimes detrimental to the friends, as well as to the country, of those who possess them, justice has no participation, in any respect,

with what is wrong." 5. "After each of you, therefore," rejoined Callias, "has communicated whatever valuable matter he has to produce, I also will without scruple tell you by what art I effect that which I profess. Do you, then, Niceratus," continued he, "tell us upon what kind of knowledge you value yourself." "My father," said Niceratus, "who was anxious that I should grow up a good man, obliged me to learn by heart all the poems of Homer; and I could now repeat offhand the whole Iliad and Odyssey." 6. "But has it escaped your knowledge," said Antisthenes, "that all the rhapsodists[1] likewise know these poems?" "How could it escape my knowledge," rejoined Niceratus, "when I hear them almost every day?" "Do you know any class of men," said Antisthenes, "more foolish than the rhapsodists?" "Indeed," replied Niceratus, "it does not appear to me that there is any." "It is certainly very evident," remarked Socrates, "that they do not know the sense of what they recite; but you have given large sums of money to Stesimbrotus and Anaximander,[2] and many others, so that nothing of any consequence in the poems can have escaped you." 7. "And as to you, Critobulus," said Callias, "upon what do you value yourself most?" "On beauty," replied Critobulus. "Will you be able to say, then," asked Socrates, "that you are able to make us better by means of your beauty?" "If I am not," answered Critobulus, "it is plain that I shall be thought a person of no estimation." 8. "And you, Antisthenes," said Callias, "on what do you pride yourself?" "On my wealth," said he. Hermogenes immediately asked him whether he had much wealth. He replied, with an oath, that he had not even an obolus. "You have then much land?" said Hermogenes. "Perhaps as much as would be sufficient," replied Antisthenes, "for Autolycus here to sprinkle himself with dust." 9. "We must certainly hear what you have to say, then," observed Callias. "But as for you, Charmides, on what do you value yourself?" "I, on the contrary," replied Charmides, "esteem

[1] Men who went about reciting the poems of Homer. Mere recitation of the poems of Homer, says Antisthenes, does not improve the rhapsodists in morality; and how was it to be expected that it should improve you?

[2] Stesimbrotus of Thasos, an interpreter of Homer, is mentioned by Plato, Ion, init. Anaximander seems to have been also an interpreter of Homer. The remark of Socrates is ironical with regard to Niceratus.

myself on account of my poverty." "You then esteem yourself, certainly," observed Socrates, "for something very amiable; for poverty is not at all exposed to envy, excites not the least contention about it, is preserved without being guarded, and acquires strength under neglect." 10. "But as to you yourself, Socrates," said Callias, "on what do you value yourself?" Socrates, shaping his face into a look of the utmost gravity, replied, "On the art of pandering." As the company laughed at his answer, "You laugh," said he, "but I well know that I might gain a great quantity of money if I chose to practise the art." 11. "You, however," said Lycon, pointing to Philippus, "value yourself on your power of exciting laughter." "And more justly, I think," rejoined Philippus, "than Callippides the actor values himself on his power; a man who plumes himself on being able to set numbers of his hearers weeping." 12. "You also, then, Lycon," said Antisthenes, will tell us on what you congratulate yourself." "Do you not all know," replied Lycon, "that it is on this son of mine?" "And your son doubtless congratulates himself," observed some one, "on being victorious in the games." Autolycus, with a blush, replied, "I certainly do not, I assure you." 13. As they were all pleased to hear him speak, and turned their eyes towards him, some one asked him, "But on what is it, then, Autolycus, that you congratulate yourself?" He answered, "Upon having such a father," and at the same time seated himself by his father's side. Callias, observing this, said, "Do you not know, Lycon, that you are the richest of mankind?" "By Jupiter," replied Lycon, "I certainly did not know it." "Are you not aware then," said Callias, "that you would not take the wealth of the king of Persia in exchange for your son?" "I am convicted on my own confession, then," replied Lycon, "of being, as it seems, the richest of men." 14. And you, Hermogenes," said Niceratus, "on what do you most pride yourself?" "On the merit and power of my friends," replied Hermogenes, "and on the reflection that, though they are men of such worth, they have a regard for me." Upon this they all looked at him, and several of them at the same time asked him, whether he would point out those friends to them. He replied that he should feel no reluctance to do so.

CHAPTER IV.

Each of the company states why he values himself on the ground which he has mentioned. Callias prides himself on his power of rendering men more honest; Niceratus, on his knowledge of Homer; Critobulus, on his beauty; Charmides, on his poverty; Antisthenes, on his riches; Hermogenes, on the influence of his friends; Philippus, on his entertaining qualities; the Syracusan, on his ability to attract the attention of the foolish; Socrates, on his art of conciliation.

1. Soon afterwards Socrates observed, "It will then remain for each of us to show that what he promised to communicate to us is of great value." "You shall hear me, then, first," exclaimed Callias; "for I, during the time that I hear you discussing what justice is, am rendering other men, at that very time, more just." "How, my excellent friend?" inquired Socrates. "By giving them money, to be sure." 2. Antisthenes started up, as determined to refute him, and asked him, "Whether do men appear to you, Callias, to carry justice in their minds or in their purses?" "In their minds," replied he. "And do you, then, by putting money into their purses, render their minds more devoted to justice?" "Undoubtedly." "How?" "Because, as they know that they have wherewith to buy the necessaries of life, they will not expose themselves to danger by committing dishonest actions." 3. "And do they repay you," said Antisthenes, "what they have received?" "No, by Jupiter," answered Callias, "assuredly not." "What return, then, do they make you for your money? Thanks?" "No, indeed," replied the other, "not even thanks; and some are still worse disposed towards me than before they received the money." "It is wonderful," said Antisthenes, looking at him at the same time as if he was utterly confuting him, "that you can render men just towards others, and not towards yourself." 4. "Why should that be wonderful?" returned Callias. "Do you not see many carpenters and builders who make houses for many other men, but are not able to make them for themselves, but live in hired dwellings? Endure, therefore, O sophist, to be refuted." 5. "Let him endure, indeed," added Socrates, "as

augurs, too, are said to foretell what is to happen to others, but to be unable to foresee what is coming upon themselves."

6. This portion of the conversation here came to an end. Niceratus then said, "You shall hear also from me in what respects you will be improved if you associate with me. You know doubtless that Homer, the wisest of poets, has sung of almost all human things. Whoever of you would wish, therefore, to become skilled in husbandry, or eloquent, or fit to be a general, or like Achilles, or Ajax, or Nestor, or Ulysses, let him attend to me; for I know all these things." "Do you know also how to be a king?"[1] inquired Antisthenes; "for you will recollect that Homer praises Agamemnon as being a good king and a brave warrior." "And I recollect, also," rejoined Niceratus, "that he says a charioteer must turn his chariot close to the goal:

> Αὐτὸν δὲ κλινθῆναι ἐϋξέστου ἐπὶ δίφρου
> Ἦκ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοῖϊν, ἀτὰρ τὸν δεξιὸν ἵππον
> Κένσαι ὁμοκλήσαντ', εἶξαί τέ οἱ ἡνία χερσί.[2]

'But incline, in your well-polished chariot, a little to the left side of the horses; and urge on the right-hand horse, encouraging him with your voice, while you give him the rein loose in your hand.' 7. I know something too besides this; and it is in your power at once to make trial of it; for Homer somewhere[3] says, that 'the onion is a proper accompaniment to drink;' and if, therefore, any of the attendants will bring us an onion, you will immediately enjoy the benefit of it, as you will drink with greater pleasure." 8. Upon this Charmides observed, "Niceratus, my friends, desires to go home smelling of onions, that his wife may believe that no one has even thought of kissing him." "Nay, by Jupiter," exclaimed Socrates, "there is danger that we may bring on us another ridiculous surmise; for onions appear to be so much of a seasoning, that they give a zest not only to drink but to meat; and if we eat onions after supper, we must take care lest people may say that we came to the house of Callias to in-

[1] A jocose, or rather malicious, kind of question; for both Antisthenes and Niceratus were living in a free state, hostile to tyrants and kings. Hence Niceratus makes no reply to the question, but turns off the attention of the company to something else. *Schneider.*

[2] Il. xxiii. 335. [3] Il. xi. 629.

dulge in gluttony." 9. "We need by no means fear such a charge, Socrates," said Callias; "for to eat onions is proper for a person going to battle, insomuch that some feed cocks with garlic before they set them to fight; but we are rather thinking, perhaps, of kissing somebody than of fighting." 10. In some such a way this part of the conversation came to an end.

Critobulus then said, "I will now tell you, in my turn, for what reasons I value myself on my beauty." "Tell us, by all means," said the rest. "If I am not beautiful," proceeded he, "as I think I am, you will deservedly be convicted of being deceivers; for you are constantly swearing, though no one requires an oath of you, that I am beautiful; and I, to be sure, believe you, since I regard you as honourable and good men. 11. If, however, I am in reality beautiful, and you feel towards me as I feel towards any one who appears to me to be beautiful, I swear by all the gods that I would not accept the dominions of the king of Persia on condition of resigning my beauty; 12. since I now look upon Cleinias[1] with greater pleasure than upon all the other beautiful objects in the world; and I would choose rather to be blind to everything else than to Cleinias alone. I am angry with the night and with sleep, because I cannot see him while they continue; and I feel the greatest gratitude to the day and the sun, because they restore Cleinias to my sight. 13. It is justifiable also for us who are beautiful to value ourselves highly for this reason, that while he who is strong must gain the objects of his desire by labour, he who is brave by confronting danger, he who is wise by speaking, he who is beautiful may effect everything that he wishes, even without exerting himself. 14. I, therefore, although conscious that wealth is very agreeable to keep in one's possession, would more gladly give all that I have to Cleinias than receive as much more from any one else; and I would more willingly be a slave, if Cleinias would be my master, than continue free; for I would much rather work for him than remain idle, and run into danger for him sooner than live free from danger. 15. So that if you, Callias, value yourself on being able to make men more hon-

[1] A favourite of Critobulus. He is generally supposed to be the brother of Alcibiades, mentioned by Plato, Alcib. § 14.

est, I have greater reason than you to value myself on leading men to every kind of virtue;[1] since we beautiful persons, as we produce a certain inspiration in those who are inclined to love, render them more generous with regard to money, fonder of enduring toil and gaining honour in hazardous enterprises, as well as more modest and self-commanding, since they are most bashful in regard to what they desire most. 16. The people who do not choose handsome men for commanders of their troops are mad. I, certainly, would march even through fire with Cleinias; and I feel that you would do the same with me; so that you need no longer be in doubt, Socrates, whether my beauty be of service to mankind. 17. Nor is beauty to be disparaged even on the ground that it soon passes its meridian; for, as a boy is beautiful, so likewise is a young man, and a full-grown man, and an old man. Of this we have a proof; for the people choose handsome old men as bearers of olive-branches at the festival of Minerva, indicating that beauty is attendant on every age. 18. And if it is pleasant to obtain what we desire from such as grant it willingly, I am quite sure that I could at this moment prevail on this boy and girl to kiss me, even though I were not to speak a word to them, sooner than you, Socrates, although you were to say numbers of wise things." 19. "How so?" rejoined Socrates; "do you boast thus in the notion that you are more handsome than I am?" "Assuredly," replied Critobulus, "or I should be the ugliest of all the Sileni described in the satyric plays."[2] Socrates bore a great resemblance to these Sileni. 20. "Take care to remember, however," said Socrates, "to have the question about beauty settled, after the proposed topics of conversation have gone round; and let not Alexander the

[1] Ἐγὼ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν δικαιότερός σου εἰμὶ ἄγειν ἀνθρώπους.] This is the common reading, which Dindorf retains; but Schneider very properly alters ἄγειν into ἀγών, understanding μέγα φρονεῖν with δικαιότερός σου εἰμί.

[2] Ἐν τοῖς σατυρικοῖς.] Sc. δράμασι, as is observed by Casaubon, de Poesi Satyricâ, i. 1; Faber ad h. l.; and Hemsterhusius ad Lucian, tom. i. p. 417. To the resemblance of Socrates to the Sileni there is an allusion in Aristoph. Nub. 224, and in the Scholion on the passage. Plato also, in his Symposium, sect. 32, makes Alcibiades compare Socrates to the Sileni. *Schneider.* The original of the words "Socrates bore a great resemblance," &c. is put in brackets by Dindorf, as of doubtful authority. Comp. c. 5, sect. 7.

son of Priam pass judgment upon us,[1] but this boy and girl, whom you think desirous to kiss you." "Would you not commit the decision to Cleinias, Socrates?" said Critobulus. 21. "Will you never cease thinking of Cleinias?" retorted Socrates. "If I should forbear from naming him," said Critobulus, "do you suppose that I shall think of him at all the less? Do you not know that I have his image in my mind so distinctly, that, if I were a statuary or a painter, I could form a resemblance of him not less accurately from that image than if I were looking upon his person?" 22. Socrates inquired, "Why then, when you carry with you so exact an image of him, do you give me so much trouble, and take me about to places where you will see him?" "Because, Socrates," returned Critobulus, "the sight of him may give me real pleasure; but the contemplation of his image affords me no enjoyment, and only excites desire in me." 23. Hermogenes observed, "I do not think it becomes you, Socrates, to allow Critobulus to be thus overcome with love." "Do you think, then," said Socrates, "that he has become thus affected since he has associated with me?" "If not, when did the affection commence?" asked Hermogenes. "Do you not see," rejoined Socrates, "that the hair on the cheeks of Critobulus is already spread to his ears, and that that of Cleinias is now only rising to the back part?[2] Critobulus was therefore violently enamoured when he used to go to the same schools with Cleinias. 24. His father, perceiving what was the state of things, committed him to my care, to see if I could in any way be of service to him; and he is indeed now much better; for previously, like people who look at the Gorgons, he would look on Cleinias as fixedly as if he were made of stone, and could not stir away from him;[3] but lately I saw him even winking.[4] 25. And by the gods,

[1] As in the dispute of the three goddesses concerning their beauty.

[2] This passage has somewhat troubled the commentators. The meaning however is plainly this, that the beard of Critobulus was rather more grown than that of Cleinias, but not much, as there was no great difference in their ages. This attachment, says Socrates, commenced when they were yet going to school.

[3] The word λίθινος, which encumbers the text in most editions, I omit with Dindorf and Ernesti.

[4] Previously, he could not bear to lose sight of Cleinias even during the time necessary for winking. Compare Cyrop. i. 4. 28.

my friends," continued Socrates, "Critobulus appears to me (a thing to be mentioned only among ourselves) to have even given kisses to Cleinias, than which there is no stronger excitement of love; for it is insatiable, and affords pleasing expectations. 26. Perhaps, too, to kiss is thought the more excusable, as the act of touching one another with our mouths is expressed by the same term[1] as the cherishing of mutual affection in the mind. On which account I say that he who would be able to live chastely must abstain from kissing handsome persons." 27. "But why in the world, my dear Socrates," said Charmides, "do you so frighten away us, your friends, from beautiful objects, when I have seen you yourself, I swear by Apollo, at the time that you and Critobulus were seeking for some passage in the same book at the grammarian's, holding your head close to the head of Critobulus, and your uncovered shoulder close to his uncovered shoulder?" 28. "Alas!" exclaimed Socrates, "it was from this cause[2] that, as if I had been bitten by some venomous animal, I had a pain in my shoulder for more than five days, and seemed to feel a kind of irritation in my heart. And now I give you notice, Critobulus," he added, "in the presence of all these witnesses, not to touch me until you have as much hair upon your chin as you have upon your head." Thus they kept up a conversation jocose and serious by turns.

29. Callias then said, "It is now your part, Charmides, to say why you value yourself on your poverty." "It is acknowledged, then," returned Charmides, "that to feel secure is better than to be in fear, that to be free is better than to be a slave, to be courted better than to court, to be trusted by one's country better than to be distrusted. 30. But I, when I was a rich man in this city, was afraid, in the first place, lest somebody should break into my house, seize upon my money, and do me some personal harm. In the next place, I had to court the favour of the informers,[3] knowing that I was more likely to suffer some injury from them than to do them

[1] Φιλεῖν, *φιλεῖσθαι*. Dindorf puts this sentence in brackets.

[2] With *ταῦτ' ἄρα*, in the text, we must understand *διὰ*, as Schneider observes.

[3] The *συκοφάνται*, who would have informed against him, if he had pretended to be poorer, and less able to discharge the duties required of him by the state, than he really was.

any ; for it was perpetually required of me by the government to expend money, and I was not allowed to go anywhere away from the city.[1] 31. But now, since I am deprived of my property beyond the frontiers,[2] and have no profit from my lands within the country, while my household furniture has been sold, I lay myself down to sleep in peace, I am not suspected by the government, I am no longer threatened by informers, but can now threaten others, as I am at liberty to leave the city or to stay in it at my pleasure ; and the rich rise from their seats before me, and give me the way.[3] 32. I am now like a tyrant, but then I was clearly a slave ; then I paid tribute to the state, now the state pays tribute to me by maintaining me.[4] When I was rich, too, people reproached me because I associated with Socrates ; but now, since I am grown poor, nobody pays any further attention to the matter. And when I had much, I was always losing something, either from the requirements of the government or the malice of fortune ; but now I lose nothing, for I have nothing to lose, but am constantly in hopes of getting something." 33. "Do you then pray," inquired Callias, "that you may never again become rich ; and, if you have any dream portending good, do you sacrifice to the gods to avert it ?" "By Jupiter," replied Charmides, "I do no such thing, but wait very cheerfully, if I have hopes of getting anything from any quarter."

34. "Come, then, Antisthenes," said Socrates, "do you tell us how it is that, having so little, you value yourself on your riches." "Because I think, my friends," said Antisthenes, "that men must be considered rich or poor in regard, not to their estates, but to their minds. 35. For I see many private individuals, who, though they have great abundance, yet think themselves so poor that they will undergo any labour, and encounter any danger, with a view to acquire

[1] Because he was detained at home by his public duties.

[2] Estates out of Attica, in the islands or in Thrace, of which he had been deprived during the Peloponnesian war. *Schneider.*

[3] The rich avoid me as a poor man, no longer worthy to be their associate.

[4] For, as Zeune observes, the poorer sort of citizens discharged the duties of public offices at Athens, which helped to maintain them. See de Rep. Lac. c. 1, sect. 3 and 13. *Weiske.*

more ; I know brothers who have inherited equal shares of their father's property, and yet, while one of them has sufficient and more than sufficient for his expenses, the other is in want of everything. 36. I understand that there are also sovereigns, who are so greedy of wealth, that they will commit even more grievous crimes to obtain it than the poorer sort of mankind ; for some of these, we know, steal through poverty, or break into houses, or sell men for slaves ; but there are some kings who ruin whole families, kill multitudes of their fellow-creatures, and even reduce entire communities to slavery, for the sake of money. 37. On such persons I, for my part, look with great pity, as labouring under a very grievous disease ; for they seem to me to be affected in the same way as a person would be who should eat and drink vast quantities,[1] and yet should never be satisfied. But I have so many things, that even I myself can scarcely find them ;[2] yet I have plenty, both to eat till I am no longer hungry, to drink till I am no longer thirsty, and to clothe myself in such a way that I am not at all colder out of doors than our very rich friend Callias here. 38. During the time that I stay in the house, the walls are regarded by me as very warm coats, and the roof as a very thick cloak ; and as for bed-clothes, I have such a comfortable abundance of them, that it is a matter of some difficulty to awake me out of my sleep. If ever my passions require me to seek their gratification, whatever presents itself gives me so much satisfaction, that those to whom I make advances caress me with the utmost fondness, merely because no one else is ready to make application to them. 39. All these things, accordingly, seem so pleasing to me, that I should never wish to have greater gratification in pursuing any of them, but rather to have less ; so much more attractive than is desirable do some of them appear to me to be. 40. But the most estimable advantage attendant on my riches I consider to be this, that, if any

[1] The common texts have *πολλὰ ἔχων καὶ πολλὰ ἐσθίων*. Lange suggested that we should read *πίνων* instead of *ἔχων*, and I have, with the concurrence of Schneider, adopted his suggestion.

[2] He jestingly says "so many," observes Weiske, when he means *so few* ; he speaks as if he could hardly find what he wanted amid the multitude of things that he has, when in reality he is puzzled how to find supplies for his wants in consequence of his poverty.

one should take from me what I now possess, there is no employment that I see so mean that it would not afford me a sufficient maintenance. 41. For when I wish to regale myself, I do not buy costly dainties out of the market-place (since they are too dear), but I draw from the resources of my mind ;[1] and much greater addition is made to my enjoyment, when I wait till I want a thing and then take it, than when I partake of any expensive gratification ; as when on the present occasion, for instance, I meet with this wine of Thasos,[2] and drink it without being thirsty. 42. It is natural, besides, that those should be far better principled who look to economy rather than expensiveness ; for those to whom what is readiest gives most contentment will be least likely to covet what belongs to others. 43. It is worthy of consideration, too, that such sort of riches renders men liberal-minded ; for our friend Socrates here, from whom I have received this wealth, did not impart it to me by number or by weight, but gave me as much as ever I could carry away ; and I, at present, grudge no man what I have, but exhibit my opulence to all my friends, and give a share of the wealth in my mind to any one that is willing to receive it. 44. Leisure also, one of the most delightful of enjoyments, is, you see, always at my command, so that I can go to see what is worthy to be seen, can hear what deserves to be heard, and, what I value most of all, can pass whole days undisturbed with Socrates, who does not look with admiration on those who can count vast sums of gold, but makes it the business of his life to converse with those whose society can give him pleasure."

45. Thus spoke Antisthenes ; and Callias said to him, "By Juno, I envy you for your wealth, not only on other accounts, but because the state does not treat you as its slave, by imposing duties upon you, and because people have no ill feeling against you if you do not lend them money." "Do not envy him, in the name of Jupiter," said Niceratus, "for I am going to borrow of him the privilege of wanting nothing ;

[1] Ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ταμιεύομαι.] I endeavour, by cherishing temperance and contentment in my mind, to repress the desire of delicacies and superfluities in eating and drinking. See Mem. Soc. i. 3. 3; Apol. Soc. sect. 18.

[2] A sort of wine greatly in repute, as appears from Pliny and Athenæus.

since I, for my part, having been instructed by Homer to reckon thus,

> Ἑπτ' ἀπύρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,
> Αἴθωνας δὲ λέβητας ἐείκοσι, δώδεκα δ' ἵππους.

'seven three-footed goblets that are not put on the fire, ten talents of gold, twenty bright vases, and twelve horses,' never cease desiring to have as much wealth as possible by weight and measure; whence I may perhaps appear to some people to be too covetous of money." At this they all laughed, thinking that he had spoken what was true.

46. Some one then said, "It is now your business, Hermogenes, to speak of your friends, and to tell us who they are, and show that they are persons of great power, and have a regard for you, that you may be thought justly to value yourself upon them." 47. "It is then evident," said Hermogenes, "that both Greeks and barbarians consider that the gods know all things, not only present but future; at least all states and nations inquire of the gods by divination what they ought or not to do. It is also manifest that we think they are able to do us good or harm; at least all men entreat the gods to avert from them what is evil, and to grant them what is good. 48. But these gods, who know everything, and can do everything, are so much my friends, that, from the attention which they pay me, it is never unknown to them, either by night or by day, whither I am going or what I intend to do. And as they foreknow what will be the result of every individual action, they intimate to me, by sending, as messengers, omens, or dreams, or auguries, what course of conduct I should pursue, or what course I should avoid; and when I obey them, I never have cause to repent, but for disobedience to them I have already, on more occasions than one, suffered punishment." 49. "Nothing in all this is incredible," said Socrates; "but I would gladly learn how it is that you worship them to make them so much your friends." "It is done at very little cost, certainly," replied Hermogenes, "for I praise them without putting myself to any expense; I am always ready to give them, in return, a portion of what they have given me;[1] I speak reverentially of

[1] Hermogenes means soundness of mind, piety and gratitude towards

them, as far as I can, on all occasions; and in whatever transactions I call them to witness, I never willingly depart from truth." "Assuredly, then," said Socrates, "if it is by such conduct that you make the gods your friends, they take delight, as is apparent, in honour and virtue." 50. This part of the conversation was thus seriously brought to a close.

But when they came to Philippus, they asked him what he saw in buffoonery that he prided himself so much upon it. "Is it not with good reason," replied he, "when all people, whenever they meet with any good fortune, invite me, knowing that I am a buffoon, to enjoy it with them; but when they incur any ill fortune, run away from me without looking back, fearing that I may make them laugh in spite of themselves?" 51. "By Jupiter," exclaimed Niceratus, "you do indeed justly value yourself on your profession; for as for me, on the contrary, such of my friends as are in prosperity flee from the sight of me, but such as fall into misfortune count their degrees of relationship to me, and never let me alone."

52. "Perhaps such may be the case," said Charmides; "but as for you, Syracusan, on what do you value yourself? Doubtless it is upon your boy." "No, by Jupiter," replied he, "not at all, since I am ever in the greatest fear about him; for I see that certain people are plotting how to work his ruin." 53. Socrates, hearing this, said, "In what respect do they think they have been so much injured by your boy as to wish to destroy him?" "They do not indeed wish entirely to destroy him," said the Syracusan, "but to induce him to sleep with them." "You think, then, as you seem to indicate, that he would be ruined if this should take place." "Undoubtedly, by Jupiter," replied the Syracusan. 54. "Do not you yourself, then," asked Socrates, "sleep with him?" "Certainly," replied he, "all night and every night." "By Juno, then," exclaimed Socrates, "it is a great good fortune to you to have been born with such a skin that you alone do not ruin those who sleep with you; so that you may very reasonably value yourself, if upon nothing else, at least upon your skin." 55. "Yet assuredly," said the Syracusan, "I do not

the gods, which he is pleased to feel through their goodness, and of which, by his prayers, praise, and thankfulness, he offers them as it were a return. *Schneider.*

value myself upon it." "Upon what, then?" asked Socrates. "Upon finding fools, by Jupiter," returned he; "for it is they that by looking at my puppets find me maintenance." "It was then for this reason," said Philippus, "that I lately heard you praying the gods to give, wherever you might be, abundance of food and scarcity of understanding."

56. "Well," said Callias, "but what have you to say, Socrates, to convince us that it is justifiable in you to value yourself on the art of which you just now spoke, and which is accounted so dishonourable?"[1] Socrates replied, "Let us first settle between us what the business of a procurer is; and whatever questions I ask, do not refuse to answer, that we may know what it is that we settle. Does this meet with your approval?" "Assuredly," said they; and when they had once said "Assuredly," they all continued afterwards to answer in the same way. 57. "Does it then appear to you to be the business of a good procurer," said he, "to render him or her, whom he gets into his hands, pleasing to those with whom he or she is to associate? "Assuredly," said they. "Does not one means of pleasing, then, consist in having a graceful arrangement of the hair and dress?" "Assuredly," said they. 58. "Are we not aware, too, that it is possible for a person to look upon others kindly or unkindly with the same eyes?" "Assuredly." "Is it not possible also to speak modestly or boldly with the same voice?" "Assuredly." "Are there not likewise some modes of address that provoke dislike, and others that conciliate regard?" "Assuredly." 59. "Of these, then, a good procurer would teach those which have a tendency to please?" "Assuredly." "And which of the two would be better in his profession, he who should render those under his care able to please one only, or he who should make them capable of pleasing many?" Here, however, the company differed in their mode of replying, and some said, "It is plain that he is the better who can teach how to please most," while the rest answered, "Assuredly." 60. Socrates, observing that they were then agreed however on this point, proceeded to say, "And if any one could qualify people to please the whole state, would he not at once be considered an extremely excellent conciliator?" "Indisputably," said they all. "If any one therefore can form those whom he takes under his care into such characters, he may justly value himself on his art, and

[1] See c. 3, sect. 10.

justly receive large sums for his instruction?" 61. As they all agreed to this, "Then," said Socrates, "our friend Antisthenes here appears to me to be a conciliator of that kind." "What!" exclaimed Antisthenes, "do you attribute this art to me, Socrates?" "Yes, undoubtedly," replied Socrates; "for I see you practising with great diligence the art which is constantly attendant on it." "What art is that?" inquired Antisthenes. "The art of seduction," replied Socrates. 62. Antisthenes was then seriously displeased, and said, "What are you aware that I have committed of this kind, Socrates?" "I am aware," replied Socrates, "that you seduced our friend Callias here to visit the wise Prodicus, because you saw that the one was in love with philosophy, and that the other was in want of money; I am aware that you seduced him, too, to go to Hippias of Elis, from whom he learned the art of memory, in consequence of which he has grown still more amorous than before, because, whatever beautiful object he sees, he never forgets it. 63. Lately, also, after recommending a stranger from Heracleia[1] in my hearing, and making me desirous of seeing him, you presented him to me; and I am thankful to you for having done so, for he seems to me to be a man of honour and virtue. Did you not likewise, by praising Æschylus of Phlius to me, and me to him, affect us both in such a manner, through what you said, that we ran about like dogs seeking for one another? 64. Seeing, then, that you are able to do such things, I consider you to be an excellent conciliator; for he who is able to distinguish such as are useful to themselves, and can render them desirous of the company of one another, appears to me capable of placing whole communities on friendly terms, of promoting suitable marriages, and of becoming a person of great consequence to be gained both by states and private friends and allies? Yet you were angry, as if you had been calumniated, because I said that you were a skilful conciliator." "However, I am not so now, assuredly," replied Antisthenes; "for if I can do such things, I shall have my mind fully stored with riches."[2] This part of the conversation then came to a termination.

[1] Bach and Weiske suppose that Zeuxippus the painter is meant, referring to Plato's Protagoras, p. 103, where he is said to have been then at Athens.

[2] Σεσαγμένος—πλούτου τὴν ψυχὴν ἔσομαι.] "I shall be packed close as to my mind with riches."

CHAPTER V.

A discussion between Critobulus and Socrates on the comparative beauty of their persons. Socrates enlarges on the attractions of his features, but, being pronounced less handsome than Critobulus, complains that the judges had been bribed to give sentence against him.

1. CALLIAS then said, "But are not you, Critobulus, going to enter the lists with Socrates on the question of beauty?" "Possibly not," said Socrates, "for perhaps he sees that the conciliator[1] is in some favour with the judges."[2] 2. "Nevertheless," rejoined Critobulus, "I do not shrink from the contest; prove, therefore, if you have any efficient argument, that you are more beautiful than I am; only," added he, "let the attendant bring the lamp close to us."[3] "I challenge you, then, first," said Socrates, "to an examination of the question; and do you reply to my interrogatories." "Question me, then," said Critobulus. 3. "Whether, therefore," asked Socrates, "do you think that beauty exists in man only, or in any other object likewise?" "I certainly think," replied Critobulus, "that it exists also in horses, and oxen, and in many inanimate objects. I know at least that there are beautiful shields, and swords, and spears." 4. "And how is it possible," said Socrates, "that these objects, which are not all similar one to another, should be all beautiful?" "If they be well formed for the purposes for which we respectively employ them," said Critobulus, "or well adapted by nature for that for which we want them, they will also assuredly be beautiful."[4] 5. "Do you know, then," said Socrates, "for what purpose we want eyes?" "Plainly," returned Critobulus, "for the purpose of seeing." "Then in that case my eyes will be more beautiful than yours." "How, I pray?" "Because yours see only what is straight before you, but mine see also what is on each side of them, from being prominent?" "You say, then," rejoined Critobulus, "that the crab has the

[1] Τὸν μαστροπόν, literally the procurer or pander. See c. 3, sect. 10.
[2] Meaning the guests, the company in general. See c. 4, sect. 20. *Weiske.*
[3] In order that our features may be plainly seen. Comp. sect. 9.
[4] See Mem. Soc. iii. 8. 4.

best eyes of all animals?" [1] "Undoubtedly," replied Socrates, "since it has them also excellently adapted for security." [2] 6. "Be it so," said Critobulus; "but which of our noses is the more beautiful, yours or mine?" "I certainly think that mine is the more beautiful," replied Socrates, "if the gods made noses for the purpose of smelling; for your nostrils look to the ground, but mine are expanded upwards, so as to catch scents from all quarters?" "But how can a flat nose be more beautiful than a straight one?" "Because," answered Socrates, "it is no obstruction to the eyes; but allows them to see whatever they wish; but a high nose, as if it designed to do harm, parts the eyes by a kind of obstructing wall." 7. "As to the mouth," continued Critobulus, "I yield you the superiority; for if a mouth be made for the purpose of biting, you would bite off much larger pieces from anything than I; and, as you have thick lips, do you not think that your kiss is softer than mine?" "I seem," returned Socrates, "according to your description, to have a mouth even more ugly than that of an ass. But do you not think this a proof that I am more beautiful than you, namely, that the Naiads, who are goddesses, are the mothers of the Sileni, [3] who resemble me far more than you?" 8. To this Critobulus replied, "I am no longer able to maintain the contest with you, Socrates; let them therefore distribute the pebbles for voting, that I may know at once what penalty I must suffer or pay. [4] Only," added he, "let them give their votes secretly, for I fear lest that wealth of yours, and that of Antisthenes, [5] should be too strong for me." 9. The girl and boy, accordingly, distributed the pebbles secretly. Socrates, at the same time, desired the attendant to bring the lamp opposite Critobulus, that the judges might not be deceived, and requested that the distinctions assigned by the judges might not be chaplets, but kisses. [6] 10. When the pebbles were emptied out, however,

[1] Because they are compound, capable of looking several ways at once.

[2] Πρὸς ἰσχὺν.] Because the crab has hard eyes. *Schneider.*

[3] Mothers of the Sileni by the Satyrs, according to Ovid, Pont. iv. 16, 35. Comp. c. 4, sect. 19.

[4] Παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτῖσαι.] A legal phrase.

[5] The wealth which Antisthenes boasted that he had received from Socrates, c. 4, sect. 43. *Schneider.*

[6] Who was to kiss the victor is not apparent. See however c. 6. sect. 1. Schneider supposes that Socrates, by "the judges," means the boy and

and were all in favour of Critobulus, "Ah!" exclaimed Socrates, "your wealth, Critobulus, does not seem to be like that of Callias; for his makes people more honest, but yours, like wealth in general, is capable of corrupting both umpires and judges."

CHAPTER VI.

Socrates engages in a discussion with Hermogenes. The Syracusan speaks impertinently to Socrates, and is repressed by him and Antisthenes.

1. IMMEDIATELY afterwards, some desired Critobulus to claim the prizes of his victory, kisses; others bade him obtain the consent of the master,[1] others jested in other ways. Hermogenes, however, then also continued silent.[2] But Socrates, addressing him by name, said, "Could you tell us, Hermogenes, what *παροινία* is?" "If you ask what it is absolutely," replied Hermogenes, "I must say that I do not know; but I will tell you what it appears to me to be." 2. "That will satisfy me," said Socrates. "I consider then," said Hermogenes, "that to cause annoyance over your wine to those with whom you associate, is *παροινία*." "Do you know, then, that you now cause us annoyance by continuing silent?" "Even while you are speaking?" asked Hermogenes. "No," replied Socrates, "but when we come to a pause in speaking." "Are you not aware, then," rejoined Hermogenes, "that a person could not insert even a hair, much less a speech, between the portions of your conversation?" 3. Socrates then said, "Can you, Callias, give any support to a man who has the worst of the argument?"[3] "I can," returned Callias,

girl who were collecting the votes; but this supposition is surely inadmissible. See sect. 1.

[1] Τὸν *κύριον*.] Schneider, Weiske, and Zeune, all suppose that the Syracusan is meant (the master of the boy and girl that collected the votes), whose consent Critobulus must obtain before he could kiss the boy and girl.

[2] He had been silent for some time before.

[3] Socrates means himself. Callias replies that he can silence Socrates's adversary, since, when the music began to play, the company would be all alike silent.

"for when the flute begins to play, we shall be all silenced together." "Would you consent, then," said Hermogenes, "that as Nicostratus the actor used to recite tetrameter iambics to the sound of the flute, so I, likewise, should converse with you to the sound of the flute?" 4. "Do so, in the name of the gods," said Socrates; "for as a song is sweeter when sung to the flute, so I suppose that your words will receive something more of sweetness from the musical notes, especially if you unite gesture to your speech, as the girl that plays on the flute does." 5. Callias then asked, "When Antisthenes, therefore, defeats any one of the company in argument, what sort of music shall be played?" "I think that the music best adapted to the person defeated," replied Antisthenes, "must be of a hissing character."[1]

6. While such conversation was going on, the Syracusan, observing that the company paid no attention to his exhibition, but were entertaining one another, felt displeased with Socrates, and said to him, "Is it you, Socrates, that are called the *contemplator?*"[2] "It is certainly better to be called so," replied Socrates, "than to be called incapable of contemplation." "Yes, if you were not thought to be a contemplator of sublimities?" 7. "Do you know anything, then," asked Socrates, "more sublime than the gods?" "But, by Jupiter," returned the Syracusan, "people say that you do not attend to such subjects, but to things utterly above our concern." "Even so," continued Socrates, "I should attend to the gods; for they, being above us, send us blessings from above, and supply us with light from above.[3] If I make poor puns, you are to blame for troubling me with your questions." 8. "Say nothing more of this, then," rejoined the Syracusan, "but tell me how many skips of a flea[4] you are distant from

[1] Συριγμόν.] Socrates plays on the ambiguity of the word, which means both the sound of a musical pipe and hissing, such as is bestowed on a bad actor on the stage. *Schneider.*

[2] Φροντιστής.] A term of reproach applied to Socrates. See Aristoph. Nub. 357.

[3] In the text there is a play on the words ἀνωφελέστατος and ἄνωθεν, of which I have endeavoured to give some imitation. Socrates speaks as if the word ἀνωφελὴς were compounded of ἄνω and ὠφελέω.

[4] See Aristoph. Nub. 144. I read with Dindorf, πόσους ψύλλης πόδας ἐμοῦ ἀπέχεις. The common reading, πόσους ψύλλα πόδας ἐμοῦ ἀπέχει, has displeased all the commentators.

me; for they say that you measure such distances." Antisthenes here interrupted him by saying, "You, Philippus, are acute at making comparisons;[1] does not this man appear to you to be very like a person desirous to offer an insult?" "Yes, by Jupiter," replied Philippus, "and he appears so to many other people." 9. "Nevertheless," said Socrates, "do not compare him to anything, lest you yourself should appear like a person offering an insult." "But if I should compare him to everything that is good and excellent, any one might then, surely, with justice compare me to a person bestowing praise, rather than offering an insult." "No; for even now you resemble a person offering an insult, if you say that everything in him is excellent."[2] "Would you wish me, then, to compare him to what is of an inferior character?" "No; nor to anything that is of an inferior character." "To nothing at all, then?" "Compare him to nothing at all."[3] "But, if I am silent, I do not know how I shall acquit myself as becomes the entertainment." "Very easily," rejoined Socrates, "if you are silent in regard to what you ought not to say." Thus terminated this affray over the wine.

CHAPTER VII.

Socrates recommends the Syracusan to exhibit some more rational entertainment.

1. AFTER this, some of the others encouraged Philippus to proceed with his comparisons; but some dissuaded him. As a noise arose, Socrates again began to speak, and observed,

[1] *Δεινὸς—εἰκάζειν.*] Philippus, as a buffoon, ridiculed people by imitating their gestures, or by ludicrous comparisons. *Schneider.*

[2] *Εἰ πάντ' αὐτοῦ βέλτιω φῂς εἶναι.*] Weiske supposes that *πάντ' αὐτοῦ* is for *πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ*, and that the sense is *si dicas omnia in eo meliora esse quàm verè sunt.* No other critic has found out any better interpretation. But he would be well content to read *βέλτιστα* for *βέλτιω*.

[3] *Μηδενὶ μηδὲ τοῦτον εἰκαζε.*] By altering *τούτων*, the old reading, into *τοῦτον*, Dindorf has given the proper sense to these words.

"Since we are all now eager to speak, might we not all very well sing together?" As he uttered these words, he began himself to sing. 2. When he had ended his song, there was brought in a wheel, such as potters use, for the dancing girl, on which she was to perform surprising feats." Socrates then said, "I shall now be in danger of being in reality, as you say that I am, a contemplator; for I am considering how this boy and girl of yours may most conveniently perform, and how we may have most satisfaction in looking at them, as I know that you also desire. 3. It seems to me, then, that to leap head foremost among the swords is a performance of danger not at all suited to an entertainment of this kind; and to write and read upon the hoop while it is twirling round is perhaps a wonderful exhibition, but I do not know what pleasure even that can afford. Nor is it at all more agreeable to see beautiful and elegant persons distorting their bodies, and imitating hoops, than remaining at rest. 4. Nor is it at all rare to meet with surprising phenomena, if a person wishes to do so; for we may well wonder at things immediately before us, as for example, why that lamp, from having a bright flame, affords us light, while the brazen part of it,[1] though extremely bright, gives no light, and yet at the same time reflects in it other visible objects; and how oil, which is liquid, increases that flame, while water, merely because it is a liquid, puts out fire. But such questions have not the same tendency as wine.[2] 5. However, if the boy and girl should dance to the flute in the manner in which the Graces, and Hours, and Nymphs are painted, I think that they would perform their task with much greater pleasure, and that our entertainment would receive a great increase of attraction." "By Jupiter, Socrates," exclaimed the Syracusan, "you say well, and I will introduce some representations with which you will be pleased."

[1] Τὸ δὲ χαλκεῖον.] Weiske and Zeune thought that a brazen mirror, placed somewhere in the apartment, was meant. Schneider, with better reason, supposed that the brass of the lamp was intended.

[2] That is, a tendency to exhilarate the spirits. *Schneider.*

CHAPTER VIII.

Socrates discourses on love, and jocosely complains of the annoyance which he receives from the constant attendance of Antisthenes. He observes that there are two kinds of love, and exhorts his hearers, and especially Callias, to pursue the more honourable kind.

1. THE Syracusan accordingly went out and began to prepare himself;[1] while Socrates again entered on a new subject of conversation. "Is it right," said he, "my friends, when a great deity is present among us, one who is equal in age to the gods that have always existed, who is extremely youthful in form, who embraces everything in the extent of his power, and yet lets himself down to an equality with the soul of man, I mean LOVE, for us to neglect to pay respect to him, especially when we are all votaries of that deity? 2. For myself, I cannot refer to any period of my life, in which I was not in love with somebody. As for Charmides here, I know that he has many in love with him, and that there are some with whom he himself has been also in love. Critobulus, certainly, is both loved and has love for others. 3. Niceratus, too, as I hear, is in love with his wife, and is loved by her in return. As to Hermogenes, which of us does not know that he is pining for love of honour, whatever honour is? Do you not see how serious his brow is, how settled his eye, how mild his words, how gentle his tone, how pleasing his manner? Yet, though he enjoys the favour of the most worshipful of the deities, he does not neglect us men. 4. And do you alone, Antisthenes, love no one?" "Nay, by all the gods," replied Antisthenes, "I love you with all my heart." Socrates, as if he were somewhat offended, rejoined jestingly, "Give me no trouble on that subject at present, for, as you see, I am fixing my attention on something else." 5. "How constantly," exclaimed Antisthenes, "do you, master of the affections of others as you are,[2] act undisguisedly thus! for sometimes you

[1] Συνεκροτεῖτο.] *Se componebat, instituebat*, settled what should be acted, and in what way. *Weiske.* So συγκεκροτημέναι ναῦς, Hellen. vi. 2. 12, signifies "ships fully equipped." *Schneider.*

[2] Μαστροπὲ σαυτοῦ.] You who are in the habit of bringing others to love you. *Weiske.* He did not mind giving his friends a repulse at times, for he knew that he could easily attract them to him again.

avoid conversing with me, because you pretend to have been prohibited by your demon, and sometimes because you want to attend to something else." 6. "In the name of the gods, Antisthenes," rejoined Socrates, "forbear at least from killing me;[1] all other trouble from you I bear, and will continue to bear, with friendly feelings, but let us conceal your love for me, since it is love, not for my understanding, but for my beauty. 7. That you, Callias," he continued, "love Autolycus, the whole city knows, and, I suppose, many foreigners. One cause of this love between you is, that you are both sons of celebrated fathers, and are yourselves distinguished. 8. I have always admired your disposition, and I now admire it much more, as I see that you are in love, not with one who prides himself on his delicacy, and is corrupted with effeminate pleasure, but with one who manifests vigour, and endurance, and fortitude, and temperance. 9. Whether, indeed, there be one Venus or two,[2] a celestial and a vulgar, I do not know (for Jupiter, who is thought to be but one and the same, has many appellations), but that there are altars, and temples, and sacrifices, for each of them separately, the more licentious for the vulgar, and the more pure for the celestial, I am very well aware. 10. You may conjecture, too, that the vulgar Venus inspires mankind with the love of the body only, but the celestial Venus with the love of the soul, of friendship, and of honourable deeds; with which love you, my dear Callias, appear to me to be influenced. 11. I conceive this from the honourable and virtuous character of the object of your love, and from seeing that his father admits you to intercourse with him; for with one who entertains a pure and honourable affection, there is nothing in such matters to conceal from a father." 12. "By Juno, Socrates," observed Hermogenes, "I not only admire you on other accounts, but because you now at once gratify Callias by your praises, and teach him what he ought to be." "I certainly mean to do so," rejoined Socrates, "and that he may be still more pleased, I wish to testify to him how much better the love of the mind is than that of the body. 13. For that there is no society, worthy of any account, without friendship, we all know; and to love, in those who admire the dispositions of

[1] Μόνον μὴ συγκόψῃς με.] *Ne nimium mihi obtundas, ne conficias me, exanimes.* Weiske.

[2] See Plato, Sympos. c. 8.

one another, is called an intimate and spontaneous connexion; but of those who love the body, many censure and dislike the character of those that they love.[1] 14. But if they found their love on the two united, the prime of beauty soon passes off, and when this fails, affection must decay at the same time; while the mind, as long as it continues to improve in understanding, grows more and more deserving of love. 15. In the enjoyment of beauty, too, satiety arises; and consequently, as we are affected in regard to food, from being satisfied, so we must likewise be affected, from the same cause, in regard to objects of corporeal love; but the love of the mind, from being pure, is also less liable to satiety, and yet is not on this account, as any one might suppose, the less attended with pleasure; but the prayer in which we entreat the goddess to *grant that what we say and do may be lovely*, is plainly accomplished. 16. For that a soul which grows up in a noble form, and with modest and generous feelings, and which is at once commanding and benevolent among those of its own age, admires and loves the object on which it places its affection, requires no proof; but that it is probable that a lover of such a character will also be loved in return by the object of his love, I will demonstrate.

17. "In the first place, can any person hate another by whom he is conscious that he is thought fair and good? Or him whom he sees[2] studying the honour of the object of his affection more than his own pleasure? Or as long as he believes that even if he should commit any light offence, or grow less beautiful through sickness, the love between them would not be lessened? 18. Must not those who feel mutual affection look upon one another with pleasure, converse together tenderly, give and receive confidence, take thought for the interests of each other, delight together in honourable actions, and grieve together if any ill fortune happen to either? Must they not constantly feel pleasure when they meet together in health, and, if either fall sick, must they not experience still closer attachment? Must they not be still more concerned for one another when they are separated than when

[1] We must read *τῶν ἐρωμένων*, with Dindorf, not *τὸν ἐρώμενον*, as in previous editions.

[2] *Ἔπειτα δὲ ὁρᾷη.*] The construction is irregular, for the proper connexion with what precedes would be *ὃν δ' ὁρᾷη*. *Schneider.*

they are together? Are not all such feelings full of love? It is through such proofs of attachment that they continue desirous of mutual friendship, and in the enjoyment of it, to extreme old age. 19. But as for him whose love depends only on bodily attractions, why should the object of his love conceive any affection for him in return? Whether would it be because he secures for himself what he covets, and brings utter disgrace on the person that he courts? Or because he alienates, in the highest degree, the relatives of the object of his affections, in consequence of what he desires to obtain from that object? 20. Though he does not use violence, but persuasion, he is but, on that account, the more deserving of detestation; for he who offers violence shows at once the badness of his character; but he who tries seduction secretly undermines the principles of the person that he seduces. 21. As for the person, too, who sells beauty for money, why should such a person love him who buys it more than a man who sells and disposes of goods in the market loves his purchasers? Assuredly the one will feel no love for the other, merely because the one being young associates with the other who is no longer young,[1] or because the one being beautiful associates with the other who is no longer beautiful, or because the one being without desire associates with the other who is inflamed with desire. The youth who consorts with the full-grown man has not, like a woman, a share in the delights of love, but is like a sober person who looks upon one who is intoxicated with pleasure. 22. Hence it is by no means surprising if contempt for him who courts arises in him who is courted. Whoever reflects on the subject will find that from the intercourse of those who have loved one another for their moral qualities no unpleasant consequences have arisen, but that by impure connexions many direful evils have been caused.

23. "I will now show you that the society of him who loves the body rather than the mind is degrading; for he who instructs the object of his love to say and do what is right would justly be honoured by him as Chiron and Phœnix were honoured by Achilles; but he who desires corporeal pleasure may deservedly follow about the object of his desire like a beggar, for indeed he constantly attends on that object

[1] Schneider refers to Plato, Phædr. sect. 38.

asking and entreating for a kiss or some other proof of attachment. 24. If I express myself somewhat more freely than ordinary, do not be surprised, for the wine excites me, and the love that always dwells in me stimulates me to speak boldly against that other kind of love which is of an opposite nature. 25. He who fixes his attention only on personal attractions appears to me like a man who has hired a piece of land, for such a man has no care that the land may be rendered more valuable, but merely that he himself may extract as much produce from it as possible; but he who seeks for mutual affection is more like a person who has land of his own; for by bringing into the mind of the beloved object whatever he can from all quarters,[1] he renders him constantly more worthy of esteem. 26. Whatever beloved object, too, is conscious that by displaying sufficient charms he will rule over the lover, is likely to be regardless as to other matters; but whoever knows that, unless by honourable and virtuous conduct, there will be no possibility of securing affection, must necessarily pay greater attention to moral rectitude. 27. But the greatest benefit gained by him who desires to form a good friend out of the object of his affections is that he himself is obliged to pursue a virtuous course of conduct; or it is impossible that he who indulges himself in what is wrong should lead one that associates with him to do what is right; nor that one who shows himself shameless and intemperate should render the object of his affections temperate and modest.

28. "I would wish also, Callias," continued he, "to give you some examples from the fables of antiquity, showing that not only men, but gods and demi-gods, have valued the affection of the mind more than any corporeal gratification. 29. With whatever mortals, for instance, Jupiter fell in love on account of their beauty, he allowed them, after he had enjoyed their society, to remain mortals; but those whom he admired for the qualities of their minds he rendered immortal; among whom were Hercules, and Castor and Pollux; and some others are mentioned. 30. I consider also that Ganymede

[1] As the owner of a piece of ground collects into it trees and plants from all parts round about, so a man of virtue infuses wholesome precepts, and the knowledge of everything that is good, into the mind of any one that he loves. *Weiske.*

was taken by Jupiter into heaven, not for the charms of his person, but for those of his mind. To this supposition his name gives support; for it is said somewhere in Homer,

—γανυται δέ τ' ἀκούων,

which means, 'he is delighted with hearing;' and there occurs somewhere else,

—πυκινὰ φρεσὶ μήδεα εἰδώς,

which signifies, 'knowing wise counsels in his mind.' From these two words he being named Ganymede,[1] not as 'agreeable in person,' but as 'agreeable in mind,' is honoured among the gods. 31. Achilles too, Niceratus,[2] is represented by Homer as taking a glorious revenge for the death of Patroclus, not as a mere object of affection, but as an intimate friend. Orestes, also, and Pylades, and Theseus, and Peirithous, and many other of the chief demi-gods, are celebrated, not because they enjoyed each other's love, but because, from esteem for one another, they achieved together the greatest and most honourable exploits. 32. Shall we not find, also, that the glorious deeds done in modern times are achieved by those who are willing to encounter toils and danger for the sake of praise, rather than by those who habituate themselves to love pleasure more than glory? though Pausanias, indeed, the friend of Agathon the poet,[3] speaking in defence of those who indulge in licentious gratifications, has said that the strongest of armies might be formed of the corrupt and those who are attached to them; 33. for he declares himself of opinion that such persons would feel utterly ashamed to desert one another; maintaining what is truly wonderful, if those who are accustomed to disregard censure, and to cast off shame before each other, would shrink most of all men from

[1] Socrates intimates that Ganymedes was compounded of γάνυμαι, "to be glad or delighted at," and μῆδος, "counsel or prudence," and that it was thence to be inferred that he was possessed of excellent and amiable qualities of mind.

[2] He addresses himself to Niceratus, as being particularly acquainted with the poems of Homer. *Zeune.*

[3] Pausanias an Athenian, a native of the demos Cerameis, is meant. He is mentioned in Plato's Protagoras and Symposium, and by Ælian, V. H. ii. 21. Agathon the poet is well known.

doing anything disgraceful. 34. He has however adduced testimonies, saying that the Thebans and Eleians are of this opinion; for he observes that the objects of their affections, though admitted into unrestrained intercourse with them, are nevertheless ranged side by side with them in the field of battle; but this example, on which he dwells, is not generally applicable, for such a practice, though common with those people, is accounted dishonourable with us. To me, at least, those who are thus ranged together appear like persons distrustful lest the objects of their affections, if separated from them, should not perform the duties of brave men, 35. But the Lacedæmonians, who think that if a person fixes his desire on corporeal pleasure, he will never afterwards pursue honour and virtue with success, make the objects of their affection so perfectly good and brave, that, even among foreigners, and when they are not ranged in the same field of action[1] with those attached to them, they are nevertheless ashamed to desert their companions in arms; for they regard, not shamelessness, but self-respect, as their goddess. 36. We are likely, indeed, to be all of the same opinion with regard to the subject on which I am speaking, if we but consider to which of the two kinds of objects of affection any one of us would with greater confidence intrust his money or children, or do a kindness with the expectation of a return; for I think that even he who is enamoured with the personal beauty of the individual whom he loves, would more readily place such confidence in one who is amiable in mind.

37. "As for you, Callias, it appears to me incumbent on you to feel grateful to the gods for having inspired you with the love of Autolycus; for that he is a lover of honour is evident, inasmuch as he has submitted to many toils, and great fatigue, for the sake of being proclaimed victor in the pancratium. 38. But if he thought that he could not only honour himself and his father, but would be able, through virtuous exertions, to benefit his friends, and to extend the power of his country by raising trophies over her enemies, and to become, by these means, admired and renowned alike among Greeks and barbarians, do you not think that he would pay the highest hon-

[1] I read ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει, with Dindorf, instead of ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει, the common reading, of which commentators could make no satisfactory sense. Lange had suggested χώρᾳ.

ours to him whom he should regard as an efficient auxiliary for the accomplishment of such views? 39. If therefore you desire to secure his attachment, you must consider by what kind of knowledge Themistocles became capable of rendering Greece free; you must reflect by what sort of accomplishments Pericles gained the character of being the most able adviser of his country; you must think how Solon advanced himself in philosophy, so as to make the best laws for the state; and you must inquire how the Lacedæmonians exercise themselves, so as to be considered the first of commanders (and the most distinguished of the Spartans lodge with you from time to time as proxeni).[1] 40. Be assured, that your country will soon put herself into your hands, if you be but willing to undertake the care of her; for you have the highest qualifications for the charge; you are of an honourable family, a priest of the gods who are worshipped in the ceremonies instituted by Erechtheus,[2] and who also marched with Bacchus against the barbarians;[3] you appear at the present festival more deserving of the priesthood than any one of your forefathers; you have a person eminently graceful in the eyes of your countrymen, and a frame well fitted for enduring fatigue. 41. If I speak to you more seriously than seems suitable for a banquet, do not be surprised that I do so; for I always continue, as well as my country, to love those who are of good dispositions, and who are ardently desirous of distinguishing themselves in virtuous pursuits."

42. The rest of the company then conversed on what had just been said; but Autolycus continued to gaze on Callias. Callias, glancing at him, said, "You will then, Socrates, recommend me to the favour of the state, that I may occupy myself in its affairs, and be always acceptable to it." 43. "Such will assuredly be the case," rejoined Socrates,

[1] Entertainers or receivers of strangers from their own country; somewhat similar to our consuls.

[2] 'Ιερεὺς θεῶν τῶν ἀπ' 'Ερεχθέως.] The θεοὶ ἀπ' 'Ερεχθέως are chiefly Ceres and Proserpine, who were worshipped in the Eleusinian sacred rites, as instituted by Erectheus. *Weiske.* The same interpretation is given by Sturz in his Lexicon.

[3] Against Xerxes, for when the Greeks were fighting with him at Salamis, it is said by Herodotus and other authors, that the Eleusinian deities and Bacchus came to their aid. *Schneider.* Bach refers to Plutarch, Themist. c. 15; Aristides, vol. ii. p. 258, ed. Jebb.; Polyæn. iii. 11. 2.

"if the people see you attaching yourself, not in appearance merely, but in reality, to virtue; for unfounded reputation is soon overthrown by being brought to proof; but sincere and honourable exertion, if the gods be not unfavourable, continually causes brighter and brighter glory to shed itself over our conduct."

CHAPTER IX.

Representation of the loves of Bacchus and Ariadne.

1. THUS ended this portion of the conversation. Autolycus (for it was now time for him)[1] arose to take a walk, and Lycon his father, as he went out with him, turned towards Socrates, and said, "Assuredly, Socrates, you appear to be me to a man of honour and virtue."

2. Soon after this, a sort of elevated couch was placed in the middle of the room, and the Syracusan came in and said, "My friends, Ariadne will now enter into the chamber occupied by herself and Bacchus; and Bacchus, who has been drinking a little with the other gods, will come in soon afterwards, and approach her; and they will then amuse themselves together. 3. Ariadne immediately made her entrance, dressed as a bride, and seated herself on the couch. Bacchus not yet appearing,[2] the Bacchic measure was played on the flute. All the company now expressed their admiration of the dancing-master;[3] for Ariadne, as soon as she heard the music, put herself into such attitudes that every one could understand that she heard it with pleasure. She did not go to meet Bacchus, nor did she rise up, but she plainly indicated that she could hardly keep herself quiet. 4. When Bacchus came forward and caught sight of her, he began to dance like a person delighted, sat down upon her knees,[4] embraced her and kissed her. She

[1] According to the rules of gymnastic training, it was now time for him to take exercise. *Schneider.*

[2] Dindorf happily reads οὔπω instead of the old οὔτω.

[3] The Syracusan.

[4] This may appear rude and forward, says Weiske, but we must remember that it is the freedom of manners in the early ages that is represented, and that Bacchus was now under the influence of wine.

acted like a modest bride, but nevertheless lovingly returned his embrace. The company, as they looked on, not only clapped their hands, but called out "Again!"[1] 5. But it was when Bacchus rose up, and raised Ariadne with him, that they had the greatest reason to admire their acting, as they kissed and embraced one another. The spectators, seeing how beautiful Bacchus was, and how blooming Ariadne, and how they kissed one another, not in pretence, but in earnest, were all delighted as they beheld them. 6. They heard Bacchus asking her whether she loved him, and Ariadne vowing so earnestly that she did, that not only Bacchus but all who were present would have sworn that the boy and girl were in love with one another; for they resembled, not actors who had been taught their parts, but lovers who had long desired to do what they were now doing. 7. At last, when the guests saw that they were embracing one another, and seemed to be going to repose, such of them as were unmarried vowed that they would marry, and such of them as were married mounted their horses and rode off to join their wives; while Socrates, and the others who stayed behind, proceeded, with Callias, to accompany Lycon and his son in their walk. Such was the termination of the banquet.

[1] *Ἐβόων αὖθις.*] Cried out "Encore!" "Repeti jubebant." *Sturz.*

REMARKS

ON THE

APOLOGY OF SOCRATES.

This piece is believed by Valckenaer and Schneider not to be Xenophon's, as being trifling and unworthy of him, and containing very little more than is to be found in the Memorabilia. Zeune and Weiske give their voices in favour of its genuineness, observing that it appears from Diogenes Laertius, Stobæus, Athenæus, and other authors, that Xenophon wrote an Apology of Socrates. But there is no proof that what we have before us under that name is what Xenophon wrote.

Whoever indeed can readily believe that Xenophon was the author of a composition so fragmentary, dry, and spiritless, as this, can have very little power of judging of Xenophon's style. It perhaps proceeded, as Valckenaer remarks, from the same hand that forged the last chapter of the Cyropædia.

THE

APOLOGY OF SOCRATES.

1. It seems proper for me to relate also concerning Socrates how he determined to act when he was brought to judgment, with regard to his defence and the close of his life. Others indeed have written on this subject, and all have expressed [1] the boldness of his language; whence it is certain that such language was used by Socrates; but that he thought death more eligible for him than life, they have not shown; so that his haughtiness of speech appears to have been somewhat too imprudent.

2. Hermogenes [2] the son of Hipponicus, however, was his intimate friend, and has given such an account of him that his boldness of language seems suitable to his resolution; for he has related that, when he observed him discoursing of anything else rather than what he should offer in his defence, he said to him, 3. "Ought you not also to consider, my dear Socrates, how you may defend yourself?" and that Socrates at first answered, "Do I not seem to you to have passed my whole life meditating how to defend myself?" but afterwards asked, "How so? Since I have constantly lived without doing any wrong; and such conduct I consider to be the best preparation for a defence." 4. But when Hermogenes again

[1] Ἐτυχον.] "Have attained," or "succeeded in attaining" it, so as to convey a notion of it to others.

[2] See Mem. Soc. iv. 8. 4.

remarked, "Do you not see, then, in looking to the tribunals of the Athenians, how often the judges, misled by words, have put to death persons altogether innocent; and how often they have acquitted the guilty, either because they themselves have taken pity on them under the influence of eloquence, or because the accused have spoken in such a way as to gain their favour?" "But I can assure you," rejoined Socrates, "that though I have twice attempted to meditate on my defence, the divine admonition constantly opposes me." 5. As Hermogenes exclaimed, "You say what is very strange," Socrates replied, "Do you think it strange, that it should now appear to the divinity better for me to die? Do you not know that, to the present day, I would not concede to any human being that he has lived better than I? for, what was most consolatory, I was conscious that my whole life was passed religiously and uprightly, so that, while I had a very fair opinion of myself, I found that those who associated with me formed the same judgment concerning me. 6. But now, if my age should be still prolonged, I know that I must necessarily suffer the evils of old age, must find my sight and hearing impaired, must become less apt to learn, and more forgetful of what I have already learned; and, if I should feel myself declining, and grow discontented with myself, how," asked he, "could I have any pleasure in continuing to live? 7. But perhaps," added he, "the divinity, from benevolence, provides for me not only to terminate my life at a proper season, but also in the easiest possible manner; for if sentence is now pronounced against me, it is certain that I shall be allowed to die by that method which has been deemed the most merciful by those who have meditated on the subject,[1] a method which causes least concern to the friends of the sufferer,[2] and inspires them with the utmost regret for him;[3] for when the dying person leaves no unseemly or unpleasant impression on the minds of those present,[4] but gradually

[1] Those who have considered the condition of men dying under the effects of drinking hemlock. *Schneider.*

[2] As they are not obliged to watch by his bed during a long illness. *Gesner.*

[3] They think of him as having been cut off somewhat prematurely. If they had seen him lingering under protracted sufferings, they would rather have consoled themselves that death had relieved him from them.

[4] A long illness compels a man to do many things, in the presence

passes away while he has his body still in health, and his mind able to retain its cheerfulness, must he not be deeply mourned?

8. "But the gods justly opposed my meditation on my speech," continued he, "when it appeared to us that means of escape should in every way be sought;[1] for it is evident that, if I had succeeded in this, I should have doomed myself, instead of quitting life now, to end it under suffering either from disease or old age, on which all troubles, all privations of comfort, concur to fall. 9. Assuredly, my dear Hermogenes," said he, "I shall think of no such course; but if I shall offend the judges by mentioning the honours which I think that I have received from the gods and from men, and what opinion I entertain concerning myself, I shall choose rather to die, than, by ignobly entreating to live longer, to secure a life far more dishonourable than death."

10. When his adversaries brought their charge against him, "that he did not acknowledge the gods whom the state acknowledged, but introduced other new deities, and corrupted the youth," Hermogenes stated that Socrates, adhering to the resolution which I have just mentioned, stood forward and said: 11. "In the first place, my countrymen, I am astonished at Meletus, and at a loss to know on what he founds his assertion that I do not acknowledge the gods whom the state acknowledges, since not only others, who were with me, have seen me sacrificing at the common festivals, and on the public altars, but Meletus himself might have seen me if he had desired to do so. 12. As to new deities, how can I introduce any by saying that the voice of a god appears to signify to me what I ought to do? for those who consult the cries of birds, and the speeches of men,[2] take omens, assuredly, from voices;

of those about him, which are of an unseemly character, and unpleasing in their eyes. *Schneider.*

[1] Ἡμῖν ζητητέα εἶναι ἐκ πάντος τρόπου τὰ ἀποφευκτικά.] By τὰ ἀποφευκτικὰ is meant, as Weiske remarks, escape from prison secretly, which the friends of Socrates had recommended to him. For ἡμῖν, therefore, which Dindorf retains, it would appear that we should read with Weiske ὑμῖν. "The divine influence was adverse to my premeditation of a speech for my defence, at the time when it seemed to you that not only that means, but every other means of escape, ought to be adopted by me."

[2] People drew omens from the mode in which those whom they

and who will say that thunder is not a voice, or that it is not a most influential omen? Does not the priestess, too, on the tripod at Delphi, declare with her voice the signs which she receives from the gods? 13. That the divinity, indeed, foreknows what is to happen, and foretells it to whomsoever he pleases, all men say and think exactly as I do; but they call[1] the things or persons that signify the future auguries or omens, diviners or soothsayers, while I call the power of prediction a divine manifestation, and I think that by designating it thus, I speak with greater truth, and more reverentially, than those who attribute the power of the gods to birds; and that I do not, in this case, speak falsely with regard to the divinity, I have manifest proof, since, though I have frequently communicated the admonitions of the divinity to my friends, I have never been found to deceive them."

14. When the judges, on hearing this statement, gave loud signs of disapprobation, some disbelieving what he said, and others being displeased at the thought that he should obtain greater favours from the gods than themselves, Socrates again said, "Hear, then, something more, that those of you who are inclined to be incredulous may feel still greater disbelief[2] in the assertion that I have been honoured by the gods; for when Chærephon, on one occasion, put a question to the oracle at Delphi, in the presence of several persons, concerning me, Apollo replied that no one of all mankind was either more liberal-minded, or more just, or more prudent, than myself." 15. As the judges, at hearing this, expressed, as was natural, still louder disapprobation, Socrates proceeded to say, "Yet the same god, my fellow-citizens, uttered in an oracle a higher eulogy concerning Lycurgus, who gave laws to the Spartans, than concerning me; for it is related[3] that he said to him as he was entering the temple, 'I am considering whether I should call you a god or a man;' but as for me, he did not liken me to a god, but only expressed his judgment that I far excelled other men. Yet do not hastily believe the

casually met addressed them. See the note on the translation of the Memorabilia, i. 1. 2.

[1] *Ὀνομάζουσιν—εἶναι.*] Literally "name to be." Bach gives a similar example of a redundant *εἶναι* from Plato's Protagoras.

[2] That is, may wonder still more, and be astonished, as it were, at a thing so incredible. *Schneider.*

[3] Herod. i. 65.

god on this subject, but consider every point in my character severally, with reference to what the god said. 16. For whom do you know less enslaved than myself to bodily pleasures? whom more liberal in mind than I am, who receive neither presents nor remuneration from any one? Or whom would you reasonably consider more just than one who contents himself with what he has, so as to need nothing belonging to others? Or how could any one honestly refuse to call me a wise man, who, since I began to understand what was said to me, have never ceased to seek and to learn whatever good I could? 17. That I have not laboured in vain, does not this appear to you a sufficient proof, that many of our citizens who are desirous of improvement in virtue, and many foreigners also, prefer to associate with me above all other men? Or what shall we say is the reason that, though all know that I am quite unable to make any return for what I receive, yet numbers are desirous to bestow gifts upon me? Or that a return for a favour is never asked of me by any one, though many acknowledge that they owe favours to me?[1] 18. Or that, during the siege,[2] other men lamented their lot, while I felt no greater wants than when the city was in the greatest prosperity? Or that other men procure expensive delicacies from the market, while I, without cost, produce greater enjoyments than they from my own mind? If, then, in what I have said concerning myself, no man can convict me of speaking falsely, must I not justly receive praise, at the present time, both from gods and men? 19. Yet you, Meletus, say that I, by such a course of conduct, corrupt the youth. We however well know, doubtless, what the things that corrupt youth are; and tell me, I pray, whether you know of any one having been drawn, by my influence, from piety to impiety, from steadiness of conduct to licentiousness, from economy to extravagance, from soberness to indulgence in wine, from laboriousness to effeminacy, or brought under the dominion of any vicious pleasure?"

[1] The favours which people bestow upon me they regard as my right, as having been merited by services either to themselves or to the state. Any favours that they receive from me they are willing to requite, if they can, whenever I am in need of their assistance in any way.

[2] When Lysander was besieging Athens, after the unfortunate engagement at Ægospotami. *Schneider.*

20. "No," replied Meletus, "but I certainly know some whom you have persuaded to obey you more than their parents." "I admit that such has been the case," replied Socrates, "in regard to education; for they know that that subject has been my study; and so, in matters concerning their health, men place more reliance on physicians than on their parents; and, in the assemblies of the people, all the Athenians, assuredly, pay more regard to those who speak wisely than to their own relatives. In the election of generals, do you not choose, in preference to your fathers and brothers, and even, most certainly, in preference to your own selves, those whom you consider most skilful in military affairs?" "Doubtless," replied Meletus, "for to do so is expedient as well as customary." 21. "Does it not then appear wonderful to you," said Socrates, "that, in other affairs, the best men not only obtain fair consideration, but are even preferred; but that I, because I am thought eminent by some in that which is the greatest good to men, I mean in the education of youth, am for this reason prosecuted by you as worthy of death?"

22. Much more than this, it is well known, was said both by Socrates himself, and by his friends, who took his part; but I have not been anxious to relate all that occurred on his trial; it is sufficient for me to show that Socrates made it his great object, neither to act impiously towards the gods, nor to be thought unjust towards men. Escape from death he did not consider that he ought to solicit; he even thought that the proper time was then come for him to die. 23. That he entertained this opinion became still more manifest after sentence was pronounced against him; for, in the first place, when he was urged by his friends to solicit a lesser penalty,[1] he neither offered to pay any pecuniary fine himself, nor allowed his friends to do so, but said that to pay a fine was for one who confessed himself guilty; and, in the second place,

[1] Ὑποτιμᾶσθαι.] This word properly signifies to propose a less penalty for one's self than that which has been fixed by the accuser. The penalty demanded by Meletus, in the form of accusation against Socrates, was death. Socrates might have applied, when judgment was pronounced against him, for a commutation of punishment, stating that he thought himself not deserving of death, but was ready to pay a fine. Instead of doing so, he asserted that he deserved to be maintained at the public expense in the Prytaneum. See Cicero de Orat. 1. 54.

when his friends offered to effect his escape secretly, he did not consent, but seems to have jested with them, by asking whether they knew any place out of Attica where death could not come.

24. As the trial came to a conclusion, he said, "But, my fellow-citizens, those who have instructed the witnesses to bear false testimony against me by perjuring themselves, and those who have yielded to their persuasions, must necessarily be conscious to themselves of having committed great impiety and injustice. But what cause is there for me to think less of myself now than before my condemnation, when I have not been convicted of having done any one of those things which the accuser has laid to my charge ?[1] for it has neither been shown that I have sacrificed to any new deities, instead of Jupiter and Juno, and the gods worshipped with them, nor that I have sworn by any other gods, or have acknowledged any. 25. As to the youth, how could I corrupt them by accustoming them to patience and frugality ? In regard to deeds for which the penalty appointed is death, as sacrilege, house-breaking, selling men for slaves, treachery towards the state, not even my accusers themselves charge me with having done anything of that kind ; so that it seems to me marvellous how any act worthy of death could ever have appeared to you to have been committed by me. 26. Nor ought I, assuredly, to think less of myself because I die unjustly ; for this is not dishonourable to me, but to those who have condemned me. Palamedes, too, who met death in a similar way with myself, offers consolation to me ; for he affords, even to the present day, a finer subject for song than Ulysses, who unjustly caused his death.[2] I know that testimony will be borne to me, both by time that is coming, and by time that is already past, that I have never wronged any man, or made any one worse than I found him, but that I improved those who conversed with me, by teaching them gratuitously whatever good I found in my power."

27. Having uttered these words, he withdrew in a manner

[1] Ἐγράψατο.] Zeune and some other editors read ἐγράψαντο: but Schneider very properly observes that Meletus is considered as the sole accuser throughout the whole piece.

[2] See Ovid. Met. xiii. 56.

suitable to what he had spoken, with cheerfulness in his looks, gesture, and gait. But, when he observed those who attended him weeping, he said, "How is this? Do you now weep? Do you not know that from the moment at which I was born, death was decreed for me by nature? If, indeed, I were dying amidst blessings showered upon me, it is certain that both I and my friends would have to grieve; but if I am ending my life when troubles are to be expected, I think you ought all to rejoice for me, as being happy."

28. A person named Apollodorus, who was present, a great admirer of Socrates, but, otherwise, of weak understanding, said, "I grieve most on this account, Socrates, that I see you going to die undeservedly;" when it is said that Socrates, stroking the head of Apollodorus, asked, "And would you, my dearest Apollodorus, rather see me die deservedly than undeservedly?" Socrates, as he said this, smiled upon him.

29. It is related, also, that on seeing Anytus pass by, he remarked, "This man is elated, as if he had done something great and honourable in causing my death, because, when I saw him thought worthy of the highest offices by the state,[1] I said that he ought not to bring up his son among ox-hides.[2] How foolish is he," added Socrates, "who does not seem to know that whichsoever of us has done that which is more beneficial and more honourable for all time, is the superior! 30. But," he continued, "Homer has attributed to some of his personages[3] the faculty of foreseeing the future at the end of their lives; and I am desirous also of uttering something in the manner of a prophecy. I had the company, for a short time, of Anytus's son; and he appeared to me to be not without vigour of mind; and I therefore predict that he will not continue at the servile occupation which his father has destined for him, but that, as he has no efficient guardian, he will plunge himself into some licentious gratification and advance far into vice." In making this prediction, Socrates was not deceived; for the young man, conceiving a passion for wine, ceased neither night nor day from drinking, and at last became

[1] As is also said in Plato's Menon, sect. 18.

[2] Anytus appears to have been a dealer in hides. *Schneider.*

[3] As Patroclus, Il. xvii. 851; Hector, Il. xxii. 358. See Cicero de Divinatione I. 30.; Plato, Apol. sect. 30. *Schneider.*

worthless alike to his country, his friends, and himself. Anytus, on account of his bad education of his son, and his own folly, is loaded with infamy, even now that he is dead.

31. But Socrates, incurring odium through magnifying himself before the tribunal, afforded the more inducement to his judges to pronounce sentence against him. To me, however, he appears to have met with a fate appointed by the kindness of the gods; for he was freed from the most troublesome part of life, and suffered the easiest of deaths. 32. He gave a proof of the firmness of his mind; for as he felt that to die was better for him than to live, he, as he had never been averse to anything else that was good, did not show want of spirit to meet death, but welcomed it and submitted to it with cheerfulness. For myself, observing his wisdom and nobleness of mind, I cannot forbear to think of him, or, while I think of him, to praise him. But if any one, among those who are studious of virtue, has met with a more beneficial instructor than Socrates, I consider him to be of all mankind the most deserving of congratulation.

PREFATORY REMARKS

CONCERNING THE

TREATISES ON THE LACEDÆMONIAN AND ATHENIAN GOVERNMENTS.

THE minute attention which I have necessarily given to the style of these Treatises in translating them induces me to form a much more unfavourable opinion with regard to their genuineness than I conceived when I read them for the first time some years ago. In the Life of Xenophon prefixed to the previous volume, I said, relying on my own early impressions and the judgment of Weiske, that there was nothing in the style or manner of the treatises to prove that Xenophon was not their author. Nor is there so much discrepancy in the style of them from that of Xenophon's acknowledged works as to make it clear to all readers that Xenophon did not write them; for, as Weiske observes, mere dissimilitude of diction will not suffice to demonstrate that they are spurious, since a writer may, for various reasons, adopt different forms of style in different compositions. But the numerous repetitions of the same phrases in the treatise on the Lacedæmonian Government, and the curtness and aridity of the phraseology, seem to convict the writer of a poverty of words never chargeable upon Xenophon; and I am now, therefore, inclined to think with Heyne, Heindorf, and F. A. Wolf, that they are the work of some other writer than the Attic bee. As to the style of the Treatise on the Athenian Government, it certainly approaches nearer to that of Xenophon, in structure and flow, than the style of the other, but is still far beneath the excellence of the master's own compositions. With regard to the matter, in both treatises, especially in that on the Lacedæmonian Government, much of it is so extremely poor and trifling, that it cannot be thought to have proceeded from Xenophon.

That Xenophon wrote Treatises on the Lacedæmonian and 'Athenian Governments is mentioned by Diogenes Laertius and other writers; but the genuineness of the books on those subjects which were in circulation under his name in early times was denied by Demetrius of Magnesia, a contemporary of Cicero. Longinus cites a few words from the treatise on the Government of the Lacedæmonians as Xenophon's, but with some variation from the present text. Whether therefore the original treatises have been lost, and others substituted by an inferior hand, or whether they have been mutilated, and the deficiencies supplied by some unskilful essayist at reparation, must remain doubtful. The question is fully discussed by Sauppe in the preface to his edition of Schneider. Sauppe tries to prove both pieces genuine.

That the fourteenth chapter of the Treatise on the Lacedæmonian Government is, if not spurious, certainly out of place, is admitted by Weiske, Schneider, and Dindorf.

ON

THE GOVERNMENT OF LACEDÆMON.

CHAPTER I.

The regulations of Lycurgus respecting marriage and the treatment of children.

1. But[1] reflecting once how Sparta, one of the least populous of states,[2] had proved the most powerful and celebrated city[3] in Greece, I wondered by what means this result had been produced. When I proceeded, however, to contemplate the institutions of the Spartans, I wondered no longer.

2. Lycurgus, who made laws for them, by obedience to

[1] The commencement is abrupt, as if some preceding portion were lost.

[2] A small population of *citizens*, not of *human beings*, is signified. Yet the state may well be said to have had but a small population, whether we look merely to the *Spartans*, or inhabitants of the city itself, or include in the computation all that could properly be called *Lacedæmonians*, or all that had the right of citizenship. *Weiske.* At the time when Sparta was most flourishing, the number of Spartans was eight thousand, according to Herodotus, vii. 234, or, according to Aristotle, Polit. ii. 6, ten thousand. The number of the inhabitants of Laconia amounted to about three hundred and eighty thousand, according to Muller, Dorians ii. 47; and the number of Spartans after their losses at Leuctra was not more than three thousand. *Sauppe.*

[3] Celebrated as being powerful. Its power became most remarkable in the Peloponnesian war, and especially about the 93rd Olympiad, when they defeated the Athenians at Ægospotami; from which period they held the sovereignty in Greece until the 102nd Olympiad, when the battle of Leuctra was fought, and when they were so weakened by the Thebans that they never after recovered themselves. *Weiske.*

which they have flourished, I not only admire, but consider to have been in the fullest sense a wise man; for he rendered his country preëminent in prosperity, not by imitating other states, but by making ordinances contrary to those of most governments.

3. With regard, for example, to the procreation of children, that I may begin from the beginning, other people feed their young women, who are about to produce offspring, and who are of the class regarded as well brought up, on the most moderate quantity of vegetable food possible, and on the least possible quantity of meat, while they either keep them from wine altogether, or allow them to use it only when mixed with water; and as the greater number of the men engaged in trades are sedentary, so the rest of the Greeks think it proper that their young women should sit quiet and spin wool. But how can we expect that women thus treated should produce a vigorous progeny? 4. Lycurgus, on the contrary, thought that female slaves were competent to furnish clothes; and, considering that the production of children was the noblest duty of the free, he enacted, in the first place, that the female should practise bodily exercises no less than the male sex; and he then appointed for the women contests with one another, just as for the men, expecting that when both parents were rendered strong, a stronger offspring would be born from them.

5. Observing, too, that the men of other nations, when women were united to husbands, associated with their wives, during the early part of their intercourse, without restraint, he made enactments quite at variance with this practice; for he ordained that a man should think it shame to be seen going in to his wife, or coming out from her. When married people meet in this way, they must feel stronger desire for the company of one another, and whatever offspring is produced must thus be rendered far more robust than if the parents were satiated with each other's society.

6. In addition to these regulations, he also took from the men the liberty of marrying when each of them pleased, and appointed that they should contract marriages only when they were in full bodily vigour, deeming this injunction also conducive to the production of an excellent offspring. 7. Seeing also that if old men chanced to have young wives, they watch-

ed their wives with the utmost strictness, he made a law quite opposed to this feeling; for he appointed that an old man should introduce to his wife whatever man in the prime of life he admired for his corporeal and mental qualities, in order that she might have children by him. 8. If, again, a man was unwilling to associate with his wife, and yet was desirous of having proper children, he made a provision also with respect to him, that whatever woman he saw likely to have offspring, and of good disposition, he might, on obtaining the consent of her husband, have children by her. 9. Many similar permissions he gave; for the women are willing to have two families,[1] and the men to receive brothers to their children, who are equal to them in birth and standing, but have no claim to share in their property.

10. Let him who wishes, then, consider whether Lycurgus, in thus making enactments different from those of other legislators, in regard to the procreation of children, secured for Sparta a race of men eminent for size and strength.[2]

CHAPTER II.

On the training and education of children.

1. HAVING given this account of the procreation of children, I wish also to detail the education of those of both sexes.[3]

[1] The sense is made clear by reference to a passage of Plutarch in his Comparison of Lycurgus and Numa, c. 4, and to another in the Life of Cato the Younger, c. 25; whence it appears that a woman transferred herself from the house and family of her first husband into the house and family of a second, the change being sanctioned by her father and by her first husband, to whose property and protection she gave up all claims. *Schneider.*

[2] Yet there were some who expressed admiration, observes Morus, that amidst this state of licence, which set aside all distinction between honourable marriage and illicit love, between legitimate and illegitimate offspring, adultery was unknown; as if such a condition of things was not a constant indulgence in adultery, sanctioned by common practice. *Schneider.*

[3] Ἑκατέρων.] *Utriusque sexûs* is the sense given by all the Latin translators, and apparently by all the commentators, to this word.

Of the other Greeks, those who say that they bring up their sons best set slaves over them to take charge of them,[1] as soon as the children can understand what is said to them, and send them, at the same time, to schoolmasters, to learn letters, and music, and the exercises of the palæstra. They also render their children's feet delicate by the use of sandals, and weaken their bodies by changes of clothes; and as to food, they regard their appetite as the measure of what they are to take. 2. But Lycurgus, instead of allowing each citizen to set slaves as guardians over his children, appointed a man to have the care of them all, one of those from whom the chief magistrates are chosen; and he is called the Pædonomus. He invested this man with full authority to assemble the boys, and, if he found that any one was negligent of his duties, to punish him severely. He assigned him also some of the grown-up boys as scourge-bearers, that they might inflict whatever chastisement was necessary; so that great dread of disgrace, and great willingness to obey, prevailed among them.

3. Instead, also, of making their feet soft with sandals, he enacted that they should harden them by going without sandals; thinking that, if they exercised themselves in this state, they would go up steep places with far greater ease, and descend declivities with greater safety; and that they would also leap, and skip, and run faster unshod, if they had their feet inured to doing so, than shod. 4. Instead of being rendered effeminate, too, by a variety of dresses, he made it a practice that they should accustom themselves to one dress throughout the year; thinking that they would thus be better prepared to endure cold and heat.

5. As to food, he ordained that they should exhort the boys[2] to take only such a quantity as never to be oppressed with repletion, and not to be strangers to living somewhat frugally; supposing that, being thus brought up, they would be the better able, if they should be required, to support toil under a scarcity of supplies, would be the more likely to persevere in

[1] *Παιδαγωγούς.*] There is no word in English for the *pædagogus*. See the Translation of Quintilian, i. 1. 8, and note.

[2] *Συμβουλεύειν τὸν ἄρρενα.*] For *τὸν ἄρρενα* Schneider would read *τὸν εἴρενα* (see sect. 11), making the sense, "that the full-grown young man, or chief of any company of youths, should exhort those under him," &c. *Συμβουλεύειν* is *præcipere, hortari.*

exertion, should it be imposed on them, on the same quantity of provisions, and would be less desirous of sauces, more easily satisfied with any kind of food, and pass their lives in greater health. He also considered that the fare which rendered the body slender would be more conducive to increasing its stature than that which expanded it with nutriment. 6. Yet that the boys might not suffer too much from hunger, Lycurgus, though he did not allow them to take what they wanted without trouble, gave them liberty to steal certain things to relieve the cravings of nature; and he made it honourable to steal as many cheeses as possible.[1] 7. That he did not give them leave to form schemes for getting food because he was at a loss what to allot them, I suppose no one is ignorant; as it is evident that he who designs to steal must be wakeful during the night, and use deceit, and lay plots; and, if he would gain anything of consequence, must employ spies. All these things, therefore, it is plain that he taught the children from a desire to render them more dexterous in securing provisions, and better qualified for warfare.

8. Some one may say, "Why, then, if he thought it honourable to steal, did he inflict a great number of stripes on him who was caught in the fact?" I answer, that in other things which men teach, they punish him who does not follow his instructions properly; and that the Lacedæmonians accordingly punished those who were detected as having attempted to steal in an improper manner. These boys he gave in charge to others to scourge them at the altar of Diana Orthia;[2] designing to show by this enactment that it is possible for a person, after enduring pain for a short time, to enjoy pleasure with credit for a long time.[3] It is also shown

[1] The original of this phrase about the cheeses is transferred to this place, on the suggestion of Schneider, from sect. 9, where it encumbers the sense. "The Lacedæmonians ate a great deal of cheese; five minæ of cheese was one of the contributions to the phiditia; and it was perhaps some of this cheese that the boys who were, according to the Spartan custom, admitted to the phiditia, were accustomed to steal." Such is the notion of Zeune; and that food used to be stolen by the boys from the phiditia is stated by Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 17.

[2] Diana was so called, says Hesychius, from a place in Arcadia, where there was a temple to her. The place appears to have been Mount Orthium, or Orthosium.

[3] To gain credit by enduring with patience the pain of being whipped.

by this punishment that, where there is need of activity, the inert person benefits himself the least, and occasions himself most trouble.

10. In order, too, that the boys, in case of the pædonomus being absent, may never be in want of a president, he appointed that whoever of the citizens may happen at any time to be present is to assume the direction of them, and to enjoin whatever he may think advantageous for them, and punish them if they do anything wrong. By doing this, Lycurgus has also succeeded in rendering the boys much more modest; for neither boys nor men respect any one so much as their rulers. 11. And that if, on any occasion, no full-grown man happen to be present, the boys may not even in that case be without a leader, he ordained that the most active of the grown-up youths take the command of each band; so that the boys there are never without a superintendent.

12. It appears to me that I must say something also of the boys as objects of affection; for this has likewise some reference to education. Among the other Greeks, a man and boy either form a union, as among the Bœotians, and associate together, or, as among the Eleians, the men gain the favour of the youths by means of attentions bestowed upon them; but there are some of the Greeks who prohibit the suitors for the boys' favours from having the least conversation with them. 13. But Lycurgus, acting contrary to all these people also, thought proper, if any man, being himself such as he ought to be, admired the disposition of a youth, and made it his object to render him a faultless friend, and to enjoy his society, to bestow praise upon him, and regarded this as the most excellent kind of education; but if any man showed that his affections were fixed only on the bodily attractions of a youth, Lycurgus, considering this as most unbecoming, appointed that at Lacedæmon suitors for the favours of boys should abstain from intimate connexion with them, not less strictly than parents abstain from such intercourse with their children, or children of the same family from that with one another. 14. That such a state of things is disbelieved by some, I am not surprised; for in most states the laws are not at all adverse to the love of youths; but Lycurgus, for his part, took such precautions with reference to it.

CHAPTER III.

On the discipline of the young men.

1. WHEN boys pass from the condition of children to that of young men, the rest of the Greeks withdraw them from the charge of the slaves who have had the care of them, and withdraw them at the same time from the schools, when no one any longer directs them, but the authorities allow them to live according to their own pleasure. 2. Lycurgus, however, made enactments at variance with this custom; for observing that in youths of such an age there is naturally the greatest spirit, the greatest presumption apparent in their conduct, and the keenest desire of pleasure prevailing in their minds, he imposed upon them, at that period of life, the most constant toil, and contrived as much occupation for them as possible. 3. Enacting in addition, too, that if any one should shrink from these exercises, he should afterwards be eligible to no kind of honours, he occasioned that not only the public magistrates,[1] but those who had the charge also of individuals, took care that they might not, by indolent neglect of their duty, become utterly disreputable in the state.

4. Besides, as he wished to engender in them the deepest feelings of modesty, he enjoined them, when they were on the public roads, to keep both their hands under their dress, to walk along in silence, not to look round in any direction, but to keep their eyes on what was before their feet. 5. Hence it was made manifest that the male sex is more susceptible of acquiring modesty than even the female; for you would hear no more sound of a voice from them than from stone statues; you would have as much difficulty in turning their eyes as if they were made of brass; you would esteem them more bashful than even virgins in the bridal chamber; and when they came into the philition,[2] you must be content to hear only what was asked of them.

[1] Τοὺς ἐκ δημοσίου.] By these words Haas understands all magistrates or governors, who give public moral instruction to youth. *Sauppe.*

[2] The *philitia*, or, as the word was more frequently written, *pheiditia* (as supposed to be from φείδομαι, to be sparing), were the public meals

6. The education among the Lacedæmonians, and that among the other Greeks, has now been detailed; and by which of the two men are formed to be more obedient and unassuming, and more temperate in things in which they ought to be temperate, let him who pleases consider.

CHAPTER IV.

Regulations respecting those of mature and advanced age.

1. On the full-grown men, however, he bestowed the most anxious attention; as he thought that they, if they proved such as they ought to be, would have the greatest influence in promoting the welfare of the state. 2. Observing, therefore, that among whatever people emulation was excited their bands of singers were most deserving of being heard, and their gymnastic contests most worthy of being seen, he considered that if he could match the youth with one another in a contest for meritorious distinction, they would thus undoubtedly arrive at the greatest eminence in manly excellence. How he stimulated them, accordingly, to contend with one another, I will relate.

3. From the men in the full vigour of life the ephori choose three, who are called Hippagretæ. Each of these makes choice of a hundred others, explaining for what reasons he prefers some and rejects others. 4. Those who do not obtain this honour are at strife as well with those who have rejected them, as with those who have been preferred to them; and they also keep strict watch over one another, lest they should act at all laxly, contrary to what is considered honourable.

5. Such strife is both highly acceptable to the gods, and extremely beneficial to the community; for in it is shown what a good citizen ought to do; and the people exercise themselves individually that they may always be in good condition, and

of the Lacedæmonians, the same as the *syssitia*. Some suppose φειδίτια, or φιδίτια, to be a mere corruption of φιλίτια, and that the word is actually from φίλος.

may severally support the state, if it be at all necessary, with all their might. 6. They must also attend to their health, for in consequence of this emulation, they engage in boxing with one another, whenever they chance to meet; but any person who comes up on the occasion has full power to separate the combatants; and if either disobeys him that would separate them, the pædonomus takes him before the ephori, who inflict a heavy penalty upon him, as they wish to prevent anger from ever prevailing so far as to be the cause of disobedience to the laws.

7. As to those who have passed the age of puberty, and from whom the chief officers of state are chosen, the rest of the Greeks, though they exempt them from the cultivation of their strength, nevertheless require them to serve in the field; but Lycurgus made it a custom that it should be honourable for persons of that age to engage in hunting, unless any public business hindered them, that they might be able, no less than the younger men, to endure the hardships of war.

CHAPTER V.

Meals taken in public. On temperance.

1. THE employments which Lycurgus appointed for each period of life have now been almost all specified. What mode of living he instituted for all the citizens, I will next endeavour to explain.

2. Lycurgus, then, having found the Spartans, like the other Greeks, taking their meals[1] at home, and knowing that most were guilty of excess at them, caused their meals to be taken in public, thinking that his regulations would thus be less likely to be transgressed. 3. He appointed them such a quantity of food, that they should neither be overfed nor feel stinted. Many extraordinary supplies[2] are also furnished

[1] Σκηνοῦντας.] Answering pretty much to our word "living." Sturz explains it by *cibum capiontes*, σκηνεῖν being equivalent to *convivari*.

[2] Παράλογα.] Beyond, or in addition to, the settled quantity. *Weiske.*

from what is caught in hunting, and for these the rich sometimes contribute bread;[1] so that the table is never without provisions, as long as they design the meal to last, and yet is never expensive.

4. Having put a stop likewise to all unnecessary drinking, which weakens alike the body and the mind, he gave permission that every one should drink when he was thirsty, thinking that the drink would thus be most innoxious and most pleasant. When they take their meals together in this manner, how can any one ruin either himself or his family by gluttony or drunkenness? 5. In other states, equals in age generally associate together, and with them modesty has but very little influence; but Lycurgus, at Sparta, mixed citizens of different ages, so that the younger are for the most part instructed by the experience of the older. 6. It is a custom at these public meals, that whatever any one has done to his honour in the community is related; so that insolence, or disorder from intoxication, or any indecency in conduct or language, has there no opportunity of showing itself. 7. The practice of taking meals away from home is also attended with these advantages, that the people are obliged to walk in taking their departure homewards, and to be careful that they may not stagger from the effects of wine, knowing that they will not remain where they dined, and that they must conduct themselves in the night just as in the day; for it is not allowable for any one who is still liable to military duty[2] to walk with a torch.

8. As Lycurgus observed, too, that those who, after taking food, exercise themselves, become well-complexioned, plump, and robust, while those who are inactive are puffy, unhealthy-looking, and feeble, he did not neglect to give attention to that point; and as he perceived that when any one engages in labour from his own inclination, he proves himself to have his body in efficient condition, he ordered that the oldest

[1] Αρτον ἀντιπαραβάλλουσι.] Neither of the prepositions in this word, observes Weiske, is without its force; for the first signifies that the rich give bread *in exchange* for what is taken in hunting, which bread they παραβαλλουσι, set before the guests.

[2] Τὸν ἔτι ἔμφρουρον.] It was only the father of children that was ἄφρουρος, or exempt from military service, says Schneider, referring to Aristot. Polit. ii. 7.

in each place of exercise should take care that those belonging to it should never be overcome by taking too much food.[1] 9. With regard to this matter, he appears to me to have been by no means mistaken; for no one would easily find men more healthy, or more able-bodied, than the Spartans; for they exercise themselves alike in their legs, in their hands, and in their shoulders.

CHAPTER VI.

Ordinances regarding children, slaves, and property.

1. In the following particulars, also, he made enactments contrary to the usage of most states; for in other communities each individual has the control over his own children, and servants, and property; but Lycurgus, wishing to order things so that the citizens might enjoy some advantage from one another, unattended with any reciprocal injury, ordained that each should have authority not only over his own children, but over those of others. 2. But when a person is conscious that his fellow-citizens are fathers of the children over whom he exercises authority, he must exercise it in such a way as he would wish it to be exercised over his own. If a boy, on any occasion, receive blows from another boy, and complain of that boy to his father, it is considered dishonourable in the father not to inflict additional blows on his son. Thus they trust to one another to impose nothing disgraceful on the children.

3. He enacted also that a person might use his neighbour's servants, if he had need of them. He introduced, too, a community of property in hunting-dogs; so that those who require them call on their owner to hunt, who, if he is not at leisure to hunt himself, cheerfully sends them out. They use horses also in like manner; for whoever is sick, or wants a vehicle, or desires to go to some place speedily, takes posses-

[1] So as to render themselves incapable of engaging in bodily exercises.

sion of a horse, if he sees one anywhere, and, after making proper use of it, restores it.

4. Nor, in regard to the following point, did he allow that that which is customary among other people should be practised among his countrymen. For when men, from being overtaken by night in hunting, are in want of provisions, unless they have previously furnished themselves with them, he directed that, in such a case, those who have partaken of what they need, leave the rest ready for use, and that those who require a supply, having opened the seals,[1] and taken as much as they want, seal the remainder up again and leave it. As they share thus, then, with one another, those who possess but little participate, whenever they are in need, in all the produce of the country.

CHAPTER VII.

Restrictions on the employments of the Lacedæmonians.

1. THE following practices, too, Lycurgus established in Sparta, at variance with those of the rest of Greece. In other communities all gain as much by traffic as they can; one cultivates land, another trades by sea, another engages in general commerce, another maintains himself by art. 2. But at Sparta, Lycurgus prohibited free men from having any connexion with traffic, and enjoined them to consider as their only occupation whatever secures freedom to states.[2] 3. How, indeed, could wealth be eagerly sought in a community where

[1] Weiske may well observe that "too much brevity has rendered this passage obscure." But it appears that the Lacedæmonians had cellars or storehouses for provisions in their grounds; that the doors, or other apertures in them, were sealed; and that such as were in distress for food, like the hunters in the text, might break the seals, extract what they required, and then seal up the openings again with the iron seal-rings which they wore. See Sauppe's note; Muller's Dorians, ii. 191, 205; Plin. H. N. xxxiii. 4; Plutarch de Instit. Lacedæm. p. 238.

[2] As knowledge of military affairs, strength of body maintained by exercise, and the practice of temperance and other virtues.

he had appointed that the citizens should contribute equally to their necessary maintenance, and should take their meals in common, and had thus provided that they should not desire wealth with a view to sensual gratifications? Nor had they, moreover, to get money for the sake of clothing; for they think themselves adorned, not by expensive raiment, but by a healthy personal appearance. 4. Nor have they to gather money for the purpose of spending it on those who eat with them, since he has made it more honourable for a person to serve his neighbours by bodily exertion, than by putting himself to pecuniary expense; making it apparent that the one proceeds from the mind, and the other from fortune.

5. From acquiring money by unjust means, he prohibited them by such methods as the following. He instituted, in the first place, such a kind of money, that, even if but ten minæ came into a house, it could never escape the notice either of masters or of servants; for it would require much room, and a carriage to convey it. 6. In the next place, gold and silver are searched after, and, if they are discovered anywhere, the possessor of them is punished. How, then, could gain by traffic be an object of pursuit, in a state where the possession of money occasions more pain than the use of it affords pleasure?

CHAPTER VIII.

Obedience to the magistrates and laws.

1. THAT at Sparta the citizens pay the strictest obedience to the magistrates and laws, we all know. I suppose, however, that Lycurgus did not attempt to establish such an excellent order of things, until he had brought the most powerful men in the state to be of the same mind with regard to it. 2. I form my opinion on this consideration, that, in other states, the more influential men are not willing even to appear to fear the magistrates, but think that such fear is unbecoming free men; but in Sparta, the most powerful men not only put themselves under the magistrates, but even count it an honour

to humble themselves before them, and to obey, when they are called upon, not walking, but running; supposing that if they themselves are the first to pay exact obedience, others will follow their example; and such has been the case. 3. It is probable, also, that the chief men established the magistracy of the Ephori, in conjunction with Lycurgus, as they must have been certain that obedience is of the greatest benefit, alike in a state, and in an army, and in a family; and they doubtless considered that the greater power magistrates have, the greater effect will they produce on the citizens in enforcing obedience.[1] 4. The Ephori, accordingly, have full power to impose a fine on whomsoever they please, and to exact the fine without delay; they have power also to degrade magistrates even while they are in office, and to put them in prison, and to bring them to trial for their life. Being possessed of such authority, they do not, like the magistrates in other states, always permit those who are elected to offices to rule during the whole year as they choose, but, like despots and presidents in gymnastic contests, punish on the instant whomsoever they find acting at all contrary to the laws.

5. Though there were many other excellent contrivances adopted by Lycurgus, to induce the citizens to obey the laws, the most excellent of all appears to me to be, that he did not deliver his laws to the people until he had gone, in company with the most eminent of his fellow-citizens, to Delphi, and consulted the god whether it would be more beneficial and advantageous for Sparta to obey the laws which he had made. As the god replied that it would be more beneficial in every way, he at once delivered them, deciding that it would be not only illegal, but impious, to disobey laws sanctioned by the oracle.

[1] Καταπλήξειν τοὺς πολίτας τοῦ ὑπακούειν.] The construction is not very clear. Morus understands ἕνεκα before τοῦ ὑπακούειν. Ἐπὶ seems preferable. Schneider thinks those two words spurious, and to be ejected. Zeune's interpretation of the phrase is, "commovere auctoritate suâ ad parendum."

CHAPTER IX.

Infamy and penalties of cowardice.

1. It is deserving of admiration, too, in Lycurgus, that he made it a settled principle in the community, that an honourable death is preferable to a dishonourable life; for whoever pays attention to the subject will find that fewer of those who hold this opinion die, than of those who attempt to escape danger by flight. 2. Hence we may say with truth, that safety attends for a much longer period on valour than on cowardice; for valour is not only attended with less anxiety and greater pleasure, but is also more capable of assisting and supporting us. It is evident, too, that good report accompanies valour; for almost everybody is willing to be in alliance with the brave.

3. How he contrived that such sentiments should be entertained, it is proper not to omit to mention. He evidently, then, intended a happy life for the brave, and a miserable one for the cowardly. 4. In other communities, when a man acts as a coward, he merely brings on himself the name of coward, but the coward goes to the same market, and sits or takes exercise, if he pleases, in the same place with the brave man; at Lacedæmon, however, every one would be ashamed to admit a coward into the same tent with him, or to allow him to be his opponent in a match at wrestling. Frequently, too, a person of such a character, when they choose opposite parties to play at ball, is left without any place; and in forming a chorus he is thrust into the least honourable position. On the road he must yield the way to others, and at public meetings he must rise up, even before his juniors. His female relatives[1] he must maintain at home,[2] and they must pay the penalty of his want of spirit;[3] he is also not allowed to have

[1] Τὰς προσηκούσας κόρας.] Not only daughters, but other female relations, whom he might happen to have under his protection; else the writer would have used the word θυγατέρας. *Sauppe.*

[2] As they will be excluded from all the exercises on the banks of the Eurotas, mentioned in c. 5. *Schneider.*

[3] Ταύταις τῆς ἀνανδρίας αἰτίαν ὑφιστέον.] Schneider would take ἀνανδρία in the sense of "want of husbands," as ἄνανδρος κόρη in Euri-

his hearth without a wife, and must at the same time pay a fine for being in that condition.[1] He must not walk abroad anointed,[2] or imitate the manners of persons of blameless character; else he will have to receive stripes from his betters. Since, then, such disgrace is inflicted on cowards, I do not at all wonder that death is preferred at Sparta to a life so dishonourable and infamous.

CHAPTER X.

Honours paid to old age. Encouragement of virtue.

1. LYCURGUS seems to me to have provided also, with great judgment, how virtue might be practised even to old age; for by adding to his other enactments the choice of senators[3] at an advanced stage of life, he caused honour and virtue not to be disregarded even in old age.

2. It is worthy of admiration in him, too, that he attached consideration to the old age of the well-deserving; for by making the old men arbiters in the contest for superiority in mental qualifications, he rendered their old age more honourable than the vigour of those in the meridian of life. 3. This

pides means more than once a girl that finds no husband. But this, as Sauppe observes, is incompatible with *αἰτίαν ὑπέχειν*, which can mean nothing else but *subire culpam*. Camerarius and some others read *ἀνανδρείας*.

[1] *Γυναικὸς δὲ κενὴν ἑστίαν οὐ περιοπτέον, καὶ ἅμα τούτου ζημίαν ἀποτιστέον.*] I have translated these words according to the sense attributed to them by Sauppe. As he is a citizen, he is under obligation to marry; but being unable to obtain a wife through *infamia* for cowardice, he has to pay a penalty for living unmarried. *Ζημία*, says Schneider, seems to mean a pecuniary fine. Dindorf omits the *οὐ*, making the passage signify that the coward must have his hearth without a wife, as he will be unable to get one. But the *οὐ* is found in all copies, and Sauppe's explanation is very satisfactory.

[2] He is not allowed to walk about through the city and the fields anointed with oil. The use of ointments was permitted in war, but the coward had fled from the field. Comp. Plut. Ages. c. 30, where it is said that any one who pleases may strike a coward, and that they go about "squalid and mean." *Weiske.*

[3] In the room of a deceased senator, the most meritorious of the citizens above sixty years of age was chosen. Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 26.

contest is deservedly held in the greatest esteem among the people, for gymnastic contests are attended with honour, but they concern only bodily accomplishments; the contest for distinction in old age involves a decision respecting merits of the mind. In proportion, therefore, as the mind is superior to the body, so much are contests for mental eminence more worthy of regard than those concerning bodily superiority.

4. Is it not highly worthy of admiration, also, in Lycurgus, that when he saw that those who are disinclined[1] to practise virtue are not qualified to increase the power of their country, he obliged all the citizens of Sparta to cultivate every kind of virtue publicly. As private individuals, accordingly, who practise virtue, are superior in it to those who neglect it, so Sparta is naturally superior in virtue to all other states, as it is the only one that engages in a public cultivation of honour and virtue. 5. Is it not also deserving of commendation, that, when other states punish any person that injures another, Lycurgus inflicted no less punishment on any one that openly showed himself regardless of becoming as good a man as possible? 6. He thought, as it appears, that by those who make others slaves, or rob them, or steal anything, the individual sufferers only are injured, but that by the unprincipled and cowardly whole communities are betrayed; so that he appears to me to have justly imposed the heaviest penalties on such characters.

7. He also imposed on his countrymen an obligation, from which there is no exception, of practising every kind of political virtue; for he made the privileges of citizenship equally available to all those who observed what was enjoined by the laws, without taking any account either of weakness of body or scantiness of means; but if any one was too indolent to perform what the laws prescribed, Lycurgus appointed that he should be no longer counted in the number of equally privileged citizens.

8. That these laws are extremely ancient is certain; for Lycurgus is said to have lived in the time of the Heracleidæ;[2] but, ancient as they are, they are still very new to other com-

[1] I read *οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι*, with Leunclavius, Zeune, and Schneider. Dindorf retains the old reading, *ὅπου οἱ βουλόμενοι*, on which every commentator has written something, but which no one has explained.

[2] That is, at the time of the return of the Heracleidæ, as Muller interprets it in his Dorians, I. 133. *Sauppe.*

munities; for, what is the most wonderful of all things, all men extol such institutions, but no state thinks proper to imitate them.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the Lacedæmonian army.

1. THE regulations which I have mentioned are beneficial alike in peace and in war; but if any one wishes to learn what he contrived better than other legislators with reference to military proceedings, he may attend to the following particulars.

2. In the first place, then, the Ephori give the cavalry and infantry public notice of the years during which they must join the army, as well as the artisans; for the Lacedæmonians provide themselves in the field with an abundance of all those things which people use in a city; and of whatever instruments[1] an army may require in common, orders are given to bring some on waggons, and others on beasts of burden, as by this arrangement anything left behind is least likely to escape notice.

3. For engagements in the field he made the following arrangements. He ordered that each soldier should have a purple robe and a brazen shield; for he thought that such a dress had least resemblance to that of women, and was excellently adapted for the field of battle, as it is soonest made splendid, and is longest in growing soiled. He permitted also those above the age of puberty to let their hair grow, as he thought that they thus appeared taller, more manly, and more terrible in the eyes of the enemy.

4. When they were thus equipped, he divided them into six moræ[2] of cavalry and heavy-armed infantry. Each of

[1] As axes, hand-mills, kneading-troughs, whetstones, &c. Comp. Cyrop. vi. 2. 34. *Weiske.*

[2] The mora consisted originally of four hundred men. But its number was afterwards increased. Xenophon speaks of it as consisting of six hundred men, Hellen. iv. 5. 11, 12. Ephorus mentioned it as a body of five hundred, and Polybius of nine hundred; Plutarch, Pelop. c. 17. The

these moræ of the citizens[1] has one polemarch, four centurions, eight captains of fifty, and sixteen enomotarchs.[2] The men of these moræ are sometimes, according to the command issued, formed in enomotiæ, sometimes by threes, sometimes by sixes.[3] 5. As to what most people imagine, that the arrangement of the Lacedæmonians under arms is extremely complex, they conceive the exact contrary to what is the fact; for in the Lacedæmonian order the officers are placed in the front ranks, and each rank is in a condition to perform everything which it is necessary for it to perform.[4] 6. So easy is it to understand this arrangement, that no one, who can distinguish one man from another, would fail of learning it; for it is assigned to some to lead, and enjoined on others to follow. Shiftings of place, by which the companies are extended or deepened, are ordered by the word of the enomotarch, as by a herald; and in these there is nothing in the least difficult to learn. 7. But how it is possible for men in this arrangement, even if they are thrown into confusion, to fight with an enemy pre-

text has "moræ of cavalry and infantry," but the *mora* appears to have been only a battalion of foot. The writer of the article "Army" in Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiquities says that to each *mora* of infantry there was attached a *mora* of cavalry, consisting at most of one hundred men. But for this statement I have not discovered his authority. Schneider thinks that ἱππεῖς was a political appellation for a body of men that were not necessarily cavalry, and that are *in this passage only* said to have been divided into *moræ*.

[1] Τῶν πολιτικῶν μορῶν.] Stobæus, citing the passage, has ὁπλιτικῶν, which Leunclavius, Morus, Zeune, and Weiske have adopted, and which will certainly satisfy most readers better than πολιτικῶν.

[2] The original complement of an *enomotia* appears to have been twenty-five men, including the captain or *enomotarch*.

[3] Τότε μὲν εἰς ἐνωμοτίας, τότε δὲ εἰς τρεῖς, τότε δε εἰς ἓξ.] These words have perplexed the commentators. There appears to have been no better explanation of them offered than that of Haas: that εἰς ἐνωμοτίας is when the men of the enomotia are ranged in single file, with the enomotarch at their head; εἰς τρεῖς, when they are three abreast and eight deep; εἰς ἓξ, when they are six abreast and four deep.

[4] Ὁ στίχος ἕκαστος πάντ' ἔχων, ὅσα δεῖ παρέχεσθαι.] Schneider fairly confesses that he does not understand these words. Weiske, with Morus, would read πάντα παρέχων, *omnia præstans*, or *faciens*, making the signification to be, that every man in each file imitates exactly what the foremost man does; but in opposition to this change of reading, it may be asked why the participle should be active, and the infinitive middle? Leunclavius's version has, *Et series quælibet habet omnia quibus repræsentatis opus est*. Gail translates thus: "*Et chaque file porte avec elle ce qui lui est nécessaire.*"

senting themselves on any quarter alike, it is not so easy to understand, except for those who have been brought up under the institution of Lycurgus. 8. The Lacedæmonians do with the greatest ease what appears extremely difficult to other men that are even accustomed to arms. For when they march in column, one enomotia follows in the rear of another;[1] and if, when they are in this order, a body of the enemy shows itself in front, orders are given to each enomotarch to bring up his enomotia to the front on the left; and this movement is made throughout the whole army, until it presents itself in full array against the enemy. But if again, while they are in this order, the enemy should show themselves in the rear, each rank performs an evolution,[2] that the strongest[3] may always be presented to the enemy.

9. But when the commander is on the left, they do not in that case consider themselves in a worse condition, but sometimes even in a better; for if an enemy should attempt to encompass them, he would come round, not on the defenceless, but on the armed side. If on any occasion, again, it should appear advantageous, for any particular object, that the commander should occupy the right wing, they wheel the troop towards the wing, and manœuvre[4] the main body, until the commander is on the right, and the rear becomes the left. 10. But if, again, a body of the enemy appear on the right, marching in column, they do nothing else but turn each century round, like a ship, so as to front the enemy; and thus the century which was in the rear comes to the right. But if the enemy approach on the left, they do not allow them to come near, but repulse them, or turn their centuries round to face the enemy; and thus again the century that was in the rear takes its place on the left.

[1] Κατ' οὐρὰν δήπου ἐνωμοτία ἕπεται.] *A tergo manipularia series altera sequitur alteram.* Latin version in Didot's edition.

[2] Ἐξελίττεται.] Weiske interprets this word by *convertitur*, "turns itself," and Schneider adopts the interpretation.

[3] Οἱ κράτιστοι.] Weiske understands the ἄρχοντες or πρωτοστάται, mentioned in sect. 5. Much of this account of the Lacedæmonian army is very obscure.

[4] Ἐξελίττουσι.] See note on this word, sect. 8.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the Spartan mode of encampment.

1. I WILL also explain how Lycurgus directed that a camp should be pitched. As the angles of a quadrilateral figure are useless, he formed the encampment in a circle, unless there happened to be a mountain to protect it, or unless the troops kept a wall or a river behind them. 2. He appointed guards during the day, some close by the camp, looking into it;[1] for these are stationed with reference, not to the enemy, but to their own friends;[2] as for the enemy, cavalry watch their approach from posts from which they command the farthest view. 3. If any went out of the camp[3] at night, he directed that they should be watched by the Sciritæ;[4] a duty which is now performed by the mercenary troops, [if] any of them [happen][5] to be with the army. As to their custom of always going about with spears,[6] we may know for certain that it is observed for the same reason for which they always prohibit slaves from entering the army. That those

[1] Τὰς μὲν παρὰ τὰ ὅπλα εἴσω βλεπούσας.] Most copies have πρὸς instead of παρὰ. Sturz, Schneider, and Leunclavius agree that ὅπλα means the camp.

[2] Οὐ—πολεμίων ἕνεκα, ἀλλὰ φίλων.] I see no meaning in these words. All guards are posted as well with a view to the enemy as to their friends; they are posted to secure their friends from being surprised by the enemy. Gail renders the words, "Ce n'est pas contre l'ennemi qu'elles sont postées, mais pour veiller sur l'armée," which is certainly of a piece with the Greek.

[3] Ἔξω τῆς φάλαγγος.] That is, ἔξω τῶν ὅπλων, "out of the camp." Comp. Weiske ad Ages. c. 2, sect. 15. *Schneider.*

[4] So called from Scirus, a town of Arcadia, which the Lacedæmonians reduced, and put the men of it into their army as cavalry, using them on services of the greatest danger. *Weiske.* See note on Cyrop. iv. 2. 1.

[5] There is a hiatus in the original. Weiske supposes that ἦν τυγχάνωσι may have fallen out of the text.

[6] I know not that any other writer has spoken of this custom. The Lacedæmonians were skilful in the use of the spear, Memorab. iii. 9. 2; and I suppose that they were accustomed to carry their spears about with them in the camp, as a defence against the slaves, who were far superior to them in numbers, and whom they could thus more easily suppress in case of any disturbance arising among them. *Weiske.* Schneider refers to Libanius, Or. de Servitute, Tom. ii. p. 85, ed. Reisk.

who retire on necessary occasions do not withdraw farther from one another or from the camp than just to such a distance as will not cause each other uneasiness, must not excite surprise in us; for they observe such caution for self-preservation.

5. They change the position of their camp frequently, with the view both of doing damage to their enemies and of serving their friends. It is prescribed by law that all the Lacedæmonians are to practise gymnastic exercises whenever they are in the field;[1] and they thus acquire a finer appearance than they had before, and a more manly air than other men. But the space for walking or running must be made not less, [and not much greater,][2] than the space over which a mora would extend,[3] in order that no one may go far away from his arms. 6. When the exercises are concluded, the first polemarch gives orders for them to sit down; this serves the purpose of a review; he then orders them to take their breakfast, and soon after to relieve the advanced sentinel.[4] The men then amuse themselves and take rest previously to the evening exercises. 8. After these, orders are issued that they may take supper, and that, when they have sung a hymn to the gods, from whom they have had favourable omens when sacrificing, they may repose themselves on their arms.

That I specify many particulars, no one ought to be surprised; for an observer will find very few things that require care omitted by the Lacedæmonians in their military regulations.

[1] Sauppe refers to Herodot. vii. 208; Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 22.

[2] Weiske supposes that something equivalent to the words in brackets has been lost out of the text.

[3] If the men in it were placed all in a line. *Weiske.*

[4] Τὸν πρόσκοπον ὑπολύεσθαι.] Weiske supposes that one of the horsemen mentioned in sect. 2 is meant, who was posted in advance. He would read with Leunclavius, ἀπολύεσθαι.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the authority and duties of the king in the field. Of the Spartan warfare in general.

1. I WILL also relate what power and honour Lycurgus has assigned to the king when he is with the army. In the first place, the state supports the king on an expedition, and those who attend on him; and the polemarchs pitch their tents close by him, that, being always at hand, they may be the better able to take counsel with him, if they require so to do. Three others, also, of the equally privileged citizens pitch their tents with him; and these attend to all the provisions for the rest,[1] that no business of that kind may prevent them from attending to military affairs.

2. But I will go back to describe how the king sets forth with the army. He first sacrifices, while still at home, to Jupiter and the gods with him,[2] and if the omens there be favourable, the fire-bearer,[3] taking fire from the altar, leads the way to the confines of the country, when the king again sacrifices[4] to Jupiter and Minerva. 3. When favourable omens have been obtained from both these deities, he then crosses the boundaries of the country; and the fire from these sacrifices is carried before him, never being extinguished, and all kinds of victims[5] are taken with him. But whenever sacrifice is offered, he always commences that duty before daybreak, wishing to be the earliest to gain the good-will[6] of the god.[7] 4. There are present at the sacrifice, the

[1] Τούτοῖς.] *Regi et suis.* Dativus est commodi. *Weiske.*

[2] Τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ.] *Aliisque cælitibus.* Philelphus.

[3] A herald, perhaps the chief of the heralds, whose business it was to carry the fire on the occasion.

[4] These are the sacrifices called διαβατήρια, mentioned in Hellen. iii, 4. 3; iii. 5. 3; iv. 7, 2. *Sauppe.*

[5] As the *goat*, which was sacrificed immediately before a battle; see sect. 8, and Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 22.; the *ox*, which was offered to Mars after they had defeated the enemy by able tactics; and the *cock*, which was offered to the same deity when they had come off indisputably victorious in the field: see Plutarch de Lacedæm. Instit. p. 887. *Zeune.*

[6] Προλαμβάνειν βουλόμενος.] "Dans la vue d'obtenir avant les autres humains les bienfaits de la divinité." *Gail.*

[7] Apollo.

polemarchs, the centurions, the captains of fifties, the officers of the mercenaries, the captains of the baggage-troop, and any one of the military commanders from the towns[1] that chooses. 5. There are present, also, two of the ephori, who, however, take no active part in the proceedings, unless the king calls upon them; but, as they observe what every one does, they render the whole company, as is to be expected, more solemn in their deportment. When the sacrifice is concluded, the king, calling all the officers around him, gives directions as to what is to be done;[2] so that, if you watched all these proceedings attentively, you would think that other nations engaged in military operations without premeditation, and that the Lacedæmonians were the only people really skilled in the conduct of war.

6. If, when the king commences his march, no enemy appears, no one goes before him except the Sciritæ and the cavalry ordered to reconnoitre; but if they expect that a battle will ensue, the king, taking the foremost troop[3] of the first mora, and wheeling it round, leads it off to the right, until he reaches the space between two moræ and two polemarchs.[4] 7. Those who are to be stationed next to these, the eldest of the attendants on the royal tent[5] draws up; and these are such of the equally privileged citizens as pitch their tents together, as well as the augurs, the physicians, the officers of the army,[6] and the volunteers, if there be any. Thus no part of what is necessary to be done is attended with any difficulty; for everything has been previously considered.

8. The following particulars, too, as it appears to me, Lycurgus ordered with great advantage in regard to contests in arms. When a goat is sacrificed,[7] the enemy being in sight, it is the custom that all the flute-players who are in attendance play on their flutes, and that every one of the

[1] *Ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων.*] The towns of the Spartan periœci seem to be meant. See Hellen. iii. 3. 6. *Weiske.*

[2] Compare Thucyd. v. 66.

[3] *Τὸ ἄγημα.*] That is, *τὸ ἡγούμενον. Haas.*

[4] The two posted on the right, we must understand.

[5] *Περὶ τὴν δαμοσίαν.*] Sc. *σκηνήν.* Comp. sect. 2, and c. 15, sect. 4; also Hellen. vi. 4. 14.; iv. 5. 8.

[6] *Οἱ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες.*] Manso (Sparta, vol. i. p. 231) proposes to read *ἀκμάζοντες.* It is not clear to me who are meant. *Weiske.*

[7] See Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 22; Pausanias, ix. 13

Lacedæmonians wear a chaplet; and notice is given that the arms be made bright. It is expected of the youth to engage in battle with their hair combed,[1] and with a cheerful look and fair appearance. 9. They also call out the orders to the enomotarch; for the voice cannot reach along the whole of each enomotia from each enomotarch at the extremity; but to see that all is properly done is the business of the polemarch. 10. As to the time when it may seem proper to pitch the camp, the king has the direction, as well as the power of pointing out the place where it must be pitched.

To the king it also belongs to send embassies, either to friends or enemies. Every one, indeed, when he wishes to do anything of consequence, begins by consulting the king. 11. If any one comes seeking justice, the king refers him to the Hellanodicæ;[2] if money, to the paymasters; if he brings in spoil, to the sellers of the spoil. Things being thus ordered, no other duty is left for the king in the field, than to act as priest in what regards the gods, and as general in what concerns men.

CHAPTER XIV.

Departure from the discipline of Lycurgus.

1. [3][If any one should ask me, whether the laws of Lycurgus appear to me to continue even at the present time intact, I could certainly no longer reply with confidence in the affirmative. 2. For I know that the Lacedæmonians formerly preferred to associate together at home, though with moderate means, rather than to grow corrupt by governing foreign cities, and listening to flatterers. 3. I know that they were formerly afraid to let it be known that they were possessed of

[1] Τῷ νέῳ κεκτενισμένῳ.] This is Schneider's emendation. Dindorf retains the old reading κεκριμένῳ. Zeune conjectures κεκριμένῳ κόμην. Weiske, καὶ κόμην διακεκριμένῳ.

[2] Weiske calls them *judices Lacedæmoniorum castrenses*, men who sat as judges in the camp of the Lacedæmonians; and compares them to the Roman tribunes.

[3] Weiske, Schneider, and Dindorf include this chapter in brackets, as being either spurious or out of place.

gold; but some at present, I am aware, are ostentatious of possessing it. 4. I know that for this reason strangers were formerly banished from Sparta, and that citizens were not allowed to reside abroad, lest they should be initiated in licentiousness by foreigners; but now I know, that those who are thought the chief men among them have shown the utmost eagerness to be constantly engaged in governing some foreign city. 5. There was a time, too, when they made it their study to render themselves worthy to be governors; but now they use far more exertion to obtain rule, than to prove themselves deserving of it. 6. Hence the Greeks formerly used to resort to Lacedæmon, and request them to be their leaders against those who were convicted of doing wrong; but now many of the Greeks exhort one another to prevent them from ever again taking the lead. 7. Yet we must not feel surprised that such reproach is thrown upon them, since they evidently show themselves neither obedient to the deity,[1] nor to the laws of Lycurgus.]

CHAPTER XV.

Compact between the kings and the people.

1. I WISH, also, to state what compact Lycurgus instituted between the king and the state; for this is the only government that continues just as it was established at the very beginning; other constitutions we may find either changed, or at present undergoing change.

2. Lycurgus, then, appointed that the king should offer all the public sacrifices on behalf of the state, as being descended from Jupiter, and that he should command the army wherever the state should think proper to send it. 3. He allowed the king also to receive an honorary portion of the sacrifices offered, and appointed him choice portions of land in the territory of many of the neighbouring towns, of such an extent that he might neither be in want of moderate means, nor be possessed of extravagant wealth. 4. That the kings might take their

[1] Apollo, who is often called ὁ θεὸς κατ' ἐξοχήν, as in c. 8, § 5. *Weiske.*

meals[1] in a tent away from home, too, he assigned them a public tent, and honoured them with a double portion at dinner, not that they might eat twice as much as others, but that they might have it in their power to honour whomsoever they pleased with a part of it. 5. He permitted also each of the kings to choose for himself two tent-companions, whom they call Pythii.[2] He allowed the king, too, to take a pig from the brood of every sow, that he might never be in want of victims, if it should be necessary for him to consult the gods. 6. Near the palace, a lake affords abundance of water; and that such a supply is useful for many purposes, those who are without it know extremely well. All rise up from their seats before the king, except the ephori from their seats of office. 7. They take an oath to each other every month, the ephori for the state, and the king for himself. The oath on the part of the king is, that he will govern according to the existing laws of the state; the oath on the part of the state is, that if the king adheres to his word, they will preserve his kingdom unshaken.

8. Such are the honours that are granted to the king in his native land, while living, honours not far exceeding those that are paid to private individuals; for Lycurgus did not wish to excite a tyrannical spirit in the kings, or to inspire the citizens with envy of their power. 9. As to the honours which are paid to a king when dead, the laws of Lycurgus wish to show by them that they have honoured the kings of the Lacedæmonians, not as men, but as heroes.

[1] Ἔξω σκηνοῖεν.] Publico convictu utantur, non domi cum familiâ epulentur. Comp. c. 5, sect. 7, and c. 5, sect. 2, 4. *Schneider.* Σκηνεῖν, *convivari, commorari dum cibum capiunt.* See Sturz, Lex. Xen.

[2] So called, because their proper business was to go as deputies to consult the oracle at Delphi, of which the original name was Pytho. See Herod. vi. 57.

ON THE GOVERNMENT OF ATHENS.

CHAPTER I.

The Athenians adopt judicious measures for maintaining a democratic form of government, § 1—9. The condition of slaves and foreigners at Athens, 10—12. Some indolence and corruption among the Athenians, 13. Little favour shown by them to the higher order of the people among their allies, 14, 15. Why the allies are obliged to bring their law-suits to be tried at Athens, 16—18. Their nautical skill, 19, 20.

1. As to the government of the Athenians,[1] I do not commend them for having chosen that form of government, for this reason, that, by making such a choice, they chose that the lower class should be in a better condition than the upper; for this reason, then, I say, I do not commend them; but I will show that, since this state of things has been adopted by them, they support their constitution well, and successfully transact other things in which they appear to the rest of the Greeks to be in error.

2. I shall observe, then, in the first place, that in such a constitution the poor and the plebeian have deservedly greater influence than the well-born and the rich; because it is the plebeians that manage the shipping, and that in consequence increase the power of the state; for the pilots and celeustæ,[2]

[1] Sauppe supposes that the abrupt beginning of this treatise indicates that it has been detached from some large work on the merits of the various forms of government in Greece.

[2] A kind of naval fugle-men, to whose voice and signals the rowers kept time. See note on Œcon. c. 21, sect. 3.

and captains of fifty rowers, and forecastle-men,[1] and ship-builders, are those who add strength to the community far more than the noble and better class of citizens. Since such is the case, therefore, it seems to be but just that all of them should have a voice concerning the offices of state, whether the election to them be by lot or by show of hands, and that every one of the citizens who wishes should have liberty to speak.

3. In those offices, however, which, from being efficiently or inefficiently held, cause safety or peril to the whole commonwealth, the people have no desire to participate; they do not expect to be admitted to the office of commander-in-chief or of general of the cavalry; for they are sensible that they are more benefited by not taking upon themselves such offices, but allowing the most influential[2] of the citizens to hold them; but whatever posts are held for pay,[3] or attended with benefit to their families, these the people try to gain.

4. In the very fact, too, at which some wonder, that they everywhere give more weight to the less respectable, the poor, and the plebeians, than to those of a higher class, they will but prove that they uphold their democratic form of government; for if the humble, the men of the people, and the lower orders prosper and increase in number, they add to the popular power; but if the wealthier and higher classes are advanced in prosperity, the plebeians establish in authority a party opposed to themselves. 5. In every country, indeed, the better class of the people is adverse to a democracy; for in the most respectable portion of a community there is the least licentiousness and injustice, and the strictest regard to honesty; but among the plebeians the greatest ignorance, insubordination, and vice; for poverty leads them much more to dishonourable practices, and to some men want of instruction and knowledge, in consequence of the want of money. ..[4]

[1] *Πρωρᾶται.*] Men who stood on the look-out at the prow, and made signals to the steersman.

[2] *Δυνατωτάτους.*] *Ditissimos.* Weiske.

[3] *Μισθοφορίας ἕνεκα.*] We may suppose that the pay is meant which was given not only to the common people in the assemblies, but to the senators and judges. See Demosth. adv. Timocrat. p. 731, ed. Reisk. That three oboli were given to the judges in the Heliæa for every cause that they tried, we see in Pollux, viii. 9. Bribery of judges is mentioned, c. 3, sect. 3. *Zeune.*

[4] Schneider and Morus suppose that something has dropped out of the

6. Some person may perhaps remark, that they should not have allowed all men without distinction to speak in public, and offer advice, but only those of the greatest ability and of the highest character ; but even in this respect they act with excellent judgment, by permitting even the mean to speak ; for if the highest class only made speeches and offered their opinions, what they say might be of advantage to men like themselves, but of no advantage to the plebeians ; but now, even the lowest individual of the people, standing up to speak if he pleases, can bring to light something that may be beneficial both to himself and to his equals. 7. Some one might ask, " What measure can such a man devise that is likely to be beneficial either to himself or to the people ? " but the Athenians know that his imperfect knowledge and humble views, if attended with benevolence, are more likely to profit the community than the talents and wisdom of the higher character, if accompanied with dishonest intentions.

8. Under such modes of proceeding the constitution may not be the very best, but the democratic form of government will thus be excellently preserved ; for the people are by no means desirous, while the state is well regulated, to be themselves slaves, but to be free and to govern. If the government is bad, they care but little ; for, from that which you think a bad condition of government, the people gain both strength and freedom. 9. But if you want a really good government, you must first see the wisest men make laws for the people ; and then the good must punish the bad, and consult for the interests of the commonwealth, and not allow fellows like madmen [1] to offer counsel, and harangue and address the public assemblies. In such an excellent state of things, however, the plebeians would soon fall into servitude.

10. The licence allowed to slaves and sojourners at Athens is very great ; it is not allowable to strike them, nor will the slave yield you the way. For what reason this custom is

text. Leunclavius and Zeune would insert ἕνεστι, or something similar, which Weiske thinks may be understood. Sauppe has thrust into his text ἐνίωσις, *hebetatio*, a conjecture of Hermann's (signifying that want of education is a cause of stupidity in men), but the word ἐνίωσις wants authority.

[1] Μαινομένους.] " We must understand *furiosis similes*," says Schneider, " for it cannot be supposed that actual madmen were allowed to offer counsel."

suffered to prevail in the country, I will tell you. If it were usual for the slave, or the sojourner, or the freedman to be beaten by the free citizen, he would often strike an Athenian born, imagining him to be a slave; for the people of the city wear no better dress than slaves or sojourners, nor are they at all superior in personal appearance. 11. Yet if any one feels surprised that they permit their slaves to fare luxuriously, and some of them to live even magnificently, they may be shown to act even in this respect with judgment; for where a naval power exists, it is necessary, from pecuniary considerations, to humour the slaves,[1] that we may receive the profit from the work which they perform,[2] and to indulge them in a liberal way of living;[3] but where the slaves are rich, it is no longer expedient that my slave should fear you; (at Lacedæmon, indeed, my slave fears you;) since, if your slave fears me, he will be likely to sacrifice what is in his possession,[4] in order to escape danger to his person. 12. On this account, accordingly, we have granted to slaves a certain equality[5] with the free, as well as to sojourners with the citizens; for the state has need of sojourners, through the great number of trades, and for the service of the fleet.

13. The people have ceased to tolerate those who practise gymnastic exercises[6] and cultivate music, thinking that such pursuits do not become them, and knowing that the lower class are not competent to study such arts. In the furnishing of choruses, as well as in the government of the gymnasia, and

[1] *Ἀπὸ χρημάτων ἀνάγκη τοῖς ἀνδραπόδοις δουλεύειν.*] Propter opes et pecuniam indulgere mancipiis, se accommodare ad eorum arbitrium et lubidinem. *Schneider.*

[2] *Ἵνα λαβάνωμεν ὧν πράττει τὰς ἀποφοράς.*] This is Dindorf's reading, from a conjecture of Schneider's. Of the passage as it stands in other editions no sense is to be made.

[3] *Ἐλευθέρους ἀφιέναι.*] Not "to make the slaves free," as Weiske imagined, but *liberius vivendi genus permittere*, as Zeune interprets it, "to allow them considerable licence as to their mode of life." *Sauppe.*

[4] And thus will have nothing to give to his master. *Zeune.*

[5] *Ἰσηγορίαν.*] Properly, "equal liberty of speech;" but the signification of the word was extended so as to denote equality in general.

[6] *Τοὺς γυμναζομένους—καταλέλυκεν.*] *Καταλέλυκεν*, says Weiske, is *abrogavit, sustulit.* The passage has given great trouble to the commentators. Zeune thinks the writer means, that the cultivation of gymnastics and music was forbidden to the slaves only; but other critics suppose him to mean, that it was discountenanced among the lower class generally.

the equipment of triremes, they are aware not only that the rich furnish the expense for the choruses, while the lower class of people enjoy the pleasure of them, but that the rich also supply triremes, and preside over the gymnasia, while the poor have the benefit of both ; the plebeians are accordingly ready to take money for singing, and running, and dancing, and serving in the galleys, that they themselves may have some advantage, and that the rich may become poorer.[1]

14. As to proceedings in courts of law, they have less regard to what is just, than to what is profitable to themselves.

As to their allies, those who are sent from Athens over the sea to them calumniate the more respectable class, as it appears, and manifest dislike for them, knowing that the governors must necessarily be hated by the governed ; and if ever, indeed, the rich and influential secure power in the states, the government of the people of Athens will be but of very short duration. On these accounts, accordingly, they degrade the better sort of people, take away their property, banish them, and put them to death, but increase the influence of the lower orders. The more honourable of the Athenians, however, protect the respectable inhabitants in the allied states, being aware that it is for their advantage always to support the aristocracy in those communities.

15. Some person might say, that it is a great support to the Athenians that their allies should be in a condition to contribute money to them. To the plebeians, however, it seems to be of much greater advantage that every individual of the Athenians should get some of the property of the allies, and that the allies themselves should have only so much as to enable them to live and to till the ground,[2] so that they may not be in a condition to form conspiracies.

16. The people of Athens seem also to have acted injudiciously in this respect, that they oblige their allies to make voyages to Athens for the decision of their lawsuits. But the Athenians consider only, on the other hand, what benefits to the state of Athens are attendant on this practice; in the first place, they receive their dues throughout the year from

[1] "Ινα—οἱ πλούσιοι πενέστεροι γίγνωνται.] "Afin d'améliorer son sort aux dépens des riches." *Gail.*

[2] "Οσον ζῆν καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι.] *Tantum quantum iis sufficit ad vitam sustentandam, ut opus in agro facere possint.* Weiske.

the prytaneia;[1] in the next place, they manage the government of the allied states while sitting at home, and without sending out ships; they also support suitors of the lower orders, and ruin those of an opposite character, in their courts of law; but if each state had its own courts, they would, as being hostile to the Athenians, be the ruin of those who were most favourable to the people of Athens. 17. In addition to these advantages, the Athenian people have the following profits from the courts of justice for the allies being at Athens; first of all, the duty of the hundredth[2] on what is landed at the Peiræeus affords a greater revenue to the city; next, whoever has a lodging-house makes more money by it, as well as whoever has cattle or slaves for hire; and the heralds, too, are benefited by the visits of the allies to the city. 18. Besides, if the allies did not come to Athens for law, they would honour only such of the Athenians as were sent over the sea to them, as generals, and captains of vessels, and ambassadors; but now every individual of the allies is obliged to flatter the people of Athens, knowing that on going to Athens he must gain or lose his cause according to the decision, not of other judges, but of the people,[3] as is the law of Athens; and he is compelled, too, to use supplication before the court, and, as any one of the people enters, to take him by the hand. By these means the allies are in consequence rendered much more the slaves of the Athenian people.

19. Moreover, from the possessions which they hold, and the governments which they administer, beyond the borders of their country, the Athenians themselves and their followers learn almost imperceptibly to row; for a man who is often at sea must himself, as well as his attendants, take the oar in hand; and he will necessarily learn also the names of everything used in the management of vessels. 20. They become good pilots, likewise, as well through the experience gained in their voyages, as through exercise; for some practise them-

[1] Money deposited by two parties going to law, and sacrificed by the one that lost the cause, being put into the public treasury. What portion of it the judges received, is not known. *Weiske.*

[2] Ἑκατοστή, sc. μερίς. Sauppe refers to Τὰς πολλὰς ἑκατοστάς. Aristoph. Vesp. 658. It was a duty of one per cent.

[3] Οὐκ ἐν ἄλλοις τισίν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ δήμῳ.] That is, as Weiske and Sauppe understand the words, not before judges of a higher class, but before judges chosen from the *demos*, or lower order of the people.

selves in steering a small vessel, others a transport ship, and others pass from these to the galleys. The bulk of the people, indeed, are able to row as soon as they go on board, from having given their attention to rowing all their lives.

CHAPTER II.

State of the Athenian land forces; advantages which they enjoy from having the command of the sea, § 1—3. Institutions and regulations for the advantage of the people; other benefits from their naval power, 9—16. Ease with which treaties are violated or set aside under a democracy, 17. The people allow those who are unpopular to be satirized on the stage 18—20.

1. THEIR land forces,[1] which appear to be by no means in good condition at Athens, may be thus characterized. They consider themselves to be weaker in this department, and to have fewer troops, than their enemies; but they are superior by land to their allies, who pay them tribute; and they think that their land force, if they maintain by its aid a superiority over their allies, is sufficient.

2. From fortune, too, they have some such advantage as the following. It would be possible for their subjects, if they dwelt on the mainland, to collect themselves together from small towns, and take the field in a large body; but as to those who are ruled by sea, such as islanders, it is impossible for their towns to unite their strength; for the sea lies between them, and their rulers are masters of the sea; and if it were practicable for the islanders to come together secretly into one island, they would perish of famine. 3. Whatever cities, moreover, are subject to the Athenians on the continent, the larger of them are kept in subordination through fear, and the smaller through necessity; for there is no city that does not require to import or export commodities; and this will be out of its power, unless it be obedient to those who have the mastery at sea. 4. It is possible, also, for the mas-

[1] Ὁπλιτικόν.] By this word is here meant land forces in general, as opposed to naval forces. Of the first section of this chapter the text is in a very unsatisfactory state, and is given differently in different editions. I adhere to Dindorf.

ters of the sea to do what is impracticable to those who are masters of the land only; for instance, to ravage at times the lands even of the more powerful; since they can make a descent on the coast, where there are either no enemies or but few, and, if a force come against them, can reëmbark and sail away; and those who do this find fewer difficulties than those who make attacks with a land army.

5. Those who have the ascendency at sea, moreover, can sail as far from their own country as they please; while those who rule on land can march but a very few days' journey from home; for marches are slow, and it is impossible for those who go by land to carry provisions sufficient for any considerable length of time. He that goes by land, too, must either go through a friendly country, or make his way by fighting; but he who goes by sea may disembark wherever he is stronger, and, when he is weaker, may sail along the coast of the country until he reaches the territories either of a friendly or of an inferior nation. 6. Those again who are powerful by land cannot easily bear blights of the crops, which proceed from Jupiter; but the rulers of the sea can endure them with ease; for the whole of a country does not suffer at the same time; so that provisions come to the rulers of the sea from that ground which is in good condition.

7. If we may allude, in addition, to some smaller advantages, the Athenians, through their intercourse with other nations, in consequence of their maritime ascendency, have discovered various sorts of luxuries; since whatever is attractive in Sicily, or Italy, or Cyprus, or Egypt, or Lydia, or Pontus, or the Peloponnesus, or anywhere else, may be collected into one spot through enjoying the command of the sea. 8. Hearing all kinds of languages spoken, too, they have selected different words from each. The rest of the Greeks have each a peculiar language and mode of living and dress, but the Athenians have adopted a mixture of fashions from Greeks and barbarians.

9. As to sacrifices, and temples, and festivals, and consecrated groves, the people, knowing that it is impossible for every poor man to make offerings and feasts, and have temples, and to live in a beautiful and extensive city,[1] have discovered

[1] That is, to secure for himself a fine large city, in which he may dwell. He can enjoy such accommodation only with the aid of the rich.

by what means these privileges may be secured to them. The state accordingly sacrifices many victims at the public expense, while it is the people that feast on them, and distribute them among themselves by lot. 10. Some of the rich, indeed, have private places of exercise, and baths, and undressing-rooms; but the people construct for their own especial use many wrestling-grounds, and dressing-places, and baths; and the vulgar have more enjoyment from them than the few and the wealthy.

11. The Athenians are the only nation among Greeks and barbarians that can secure wealth; for if any state is rich in timber for ship-building, where shall they dispose of it, unless they gain the favour of the rulers of the sea? Or if any state abounds in iron, or brass, or flax, where shall they dispose of it, unless they obtain the consent of the lords of the sea? It is, however, from these very materials that our ships are constructed; for from one nation comes timber, from another iron, from another brass, from another hemp, from another wax. 12. Besides, such as are our rivals will not allow people to carry these things to any other parts than where they themselves command the sea.[1] I, without labour, have all these benefits from the land by means of the sea; and no other state has any two of these materials; for the same state has not timber and flax, since, where there is abundance of flax, the ground is level and woodless; nor do brass and iron come from the same state; nor are any two or three other commodities found in the same state, but one state abounds in one, and another in another.

13. Besides, there is near every part of the mainland either a projecting shore, or an island lying on the coast, or an isthmus, so that those who have the command of the sea may make a descent there, and do injury to the inhabitants of the continent.

14. But there is one particular in which they lie under a disadvantage; for if the Athenians inhabited an island and were lords of the sea, they would have it in their power to do mischief to others if they pleased, and would suffer no injury

[1] Our rivals, if we do not secure the goods, will get possession of them; they will not allow them to be dispersed about everywhere, but will seize upon as large a portion of them for themselves as they can, since they want them as well as we; but, as we are the stronger, we get the greater share.

from others, as long as they maintained their superiority at sea; nor would their land be ravaged, nor would they fear the approach of an enemy. But at present the husbandmen, and the richer citizens in Athens, are greatly in fear of enemies; though the lower order, being well aware that an enemy will burn or devastate nothing belonging to them, live in security, and without any apprehension of an enemy. 15. In addition to this, they would have been free from another cause of fear, if they had inhabited an island; for they would never have dreaded that their city might be betrayed, or their gates set open, or an enemy let in upon them by a small faction; (for how could such things have happened when they dwelt in an island?) nor, had they been islanders, would they have had seditions among the people; for if the people were to raise a sedition at present, they would raise it from trusting in an enemy, with the expectation of bringing them into the city by land; but if they were all islanders, they would be free from apprehension on that point. 16. Since, however, they have not dwelt in an island from the beginning, their practice now is to deposit their property in the islands, trusting to their power by sea, and allow the lands of Attica to be ravaged,[1] knowing that, if they concerned themselves for their territory, they would lose other things of greater importance.

17. It is necessary for states governed by an oligarchy to pay strict adherence to alliances and treaties; and if they do not keep their engagements, by whom else can it be supposed that faith is broken, but by those who made those engagements?[2] But in regard to engagements which the people make, it is possible for any one[3] laying the blame on the indi-

[1] All this is quite absurd. Because the Athenians did so once in the Persian war, and once, to a certain extent, in the time of Pericles, the writer speaks as if they were constantly in the habit of doing so.

[2] Ἢ ὑφ' ὅτου ἀδικεῖν ὀνόματα ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων οἳ συνέθεντο.] These words are quite unintelligible, though Dindorf has left them standing in his text. Schneider approves of the correction of Leunclavius, ὑφ' ὅτου ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίσοι τις, ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀλιγων οἳ συνέθεντο, which Sauppe would have adopted, with the alteration of νομίσοι to ἂν νομίσαι, had he not been attracted by the conjecture of his countryman, Hermann, ὑφ' ὅτου ἀδικεῖ ἀνομεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων, of which he gives this translation: *Ab eo, qui injuriam facit, injuste agitur sic, ut injuria proficiscatur à paucis illis, qui pepigerunt.*

[3] This sentence is very obscure. Dindorf's text has ἔξεστιν αὐτῷ ἕνι,

vidual who proposed the measure, and put it to the vote, to declare to every one else that he was not present, and that what was settled by no means pleased him; they examine into the matter in a full assembly of the people, and if it does not please them that the measure in question should be carried into effect, they find innumerable pretexts for not doing what they do not wish. And if any harm results from what the people have decreed, they complain that a few individuals, adverse to the popular interests, have mismanaged the matter; if any good is the consequence, they claim the credit to themselves.

18. The authorities do not allow jesting on the people in comedies, or defaming them, lest they themselves be slandered; but privately, if a writer wishes to satirize any one, they stimulate him to the attempt, as they are sure that he who is brought on the stage will in general not be one of the multitude, but some rich, or noble, or influential person. It is but a few of the poorer and plebeian class that are ever exposed on the stage, and these would not be molested unless for officiousness, and seeking to set themselves above the rest of the people; so that at the ridicule thrown on these they are not at all concerned. 19. I say then, that the people at Athens know very well which of the citizens are good and which are bad; but, while they know this, they love those who are of use and advantage to themselves, even though they be bad, and rather entertain a dislike for the better sort, for they do not think that the merit which is in them is for the good of the people in general, but for their harm. On the other hand, some, who belong to the people by birth, are by no means of a democratic disposition.

20. I forgive the people themselves their attachment to a democracy, for it is pardonable in every one to study his own benefit; but whoever is not one of the people, and prefers to live under a democratic rather than an oligarchic form of government, is but meditating dishonesty, and knows that it is much easier for a knave to escape notice under a democracy than under an oligarchy.

&c. Sauppe preserves the old reading *αὖ τῳ*. The sense seems to require *ἔξεστί τινι τῷ ἕνι ἀναπιθέντι*, &c.

CHAPTER III.

Why the allies find a difficulty in getting their suits decided at Athens, § 1—9. The Athenians always favour the democratic party in other states, 10, 11. No great danger to be apprehended from the resentment of those who have been deprived of office at Athens, 12, 13.

1. THE form of the Athenian government, then, I do not commend; but since they have themselves given the preference to a democracy, they appear to me to preserve the democratic constitution with ability, adhering to the modes of proceeding which I have described.

I see also that some blame the Athenians for this reason, that it is sometimes impossible for an individual, after waiting even a whole year, to settle business with either the senate or the people. This delay at Athens, however, arises from no other cause than that, from the multiplicity of their affairs, they are unable to decide matters with all parties, and send them away; 2. for how could they do so, when they have to celebrate, in the first place, more festivals than any other city of Greece,[1] (and during these it is impossible for any one to settle any part of the business of the state,) and have besides to take cognizance of so many lawsuits, and accusations, and examinations of public accounts, that not even all the men in the world could attend to them; while the senate has to deliberate frequently about war, frequently about obtaining money, frequently about making laws, frequently about occurrences from time to time in the city, and frequently about affairs among the allies; and they must also receive payments of tribute, and attend to the state of the dockyards and the temples. Is it then at all wonderful that, when they have so much business to transact, they cannot readily dispatch the business of every individual?

3. Yet some say that if a suitor applies to the senate or the people with money in his hand, he will get his business done.

[1] Weiske refers to Aristoph. Vesp. 661, where Bdelycleon reckons the Attic year as consisting of ten months, the other two months being consumed in festivals. Sauppe observes, that in Plato's Alcib. ii. c. 19, a similar testimony is given to the vast number of the Athenian festivals, on which it is said that they have spent more money than all the other Greeks together.

I am ready to grant, then, that much is done at Athens with the aid of money, and that still more would be done if a greater number offered money; yet I am certain that the state is incapable of dispatching all the business of those who require attention, however much gold and silver any one might give them. 4. Besides, they must also give sentence in cases when any one fails[1] to equip a vessel, or occupies any public ground with building;[2] and in addition to all these affairs, they must decide between the choragi for the Dionysia, the Thargelia, the Panathenæa, and the Hephæsteia,[3] every year. Four hundred trierarchs are also appointed every year, and the people must every year settle causes for such of these as require their judgment; and they must likewise examine and decide about qualifications for offices, inquire into the condition of orphans, and appoint keepers of prisoners, all which things must be done every year. 5. From time to time, too, they must give sentence in cases respecting military affairs,[4] as well as when any sudden offence is committed, or when persons are guilty of any extraordinary outrage, or of any impiety. I omit a great number of other matters, but the most important have been mentioned, except the settlement of tribute, which is made in general every fifth year. Do you not think, then, let me ask you, that they must give careful judgment in all these particulars?

6. Some one may say that it is not necessary to settle everything at once. But if he admits that they must settle everything, he must surely allow that they must settle it in the course of the year. But in the present state of things[5] they

[1] That is, any trierarch who has to equip a trireme at his own expense. *Weiske.*

[2] Ἢ κατοικοδομεῖ τι [τὸ] δημόσιον.] Every editor, since Leunclavius, has seen that τὸ must be omitted; yet all, except Sauppe, retain it. If we do not omit it, says Weiske, we must read τοῦ δημοσίου.

[3] Dionysia, the feast of Bacchus; Thargelia, a festival to Apollo and Diana, in the month Thargelion; Panathenæa, a festival in honour of Minerva; Prometheia, in honour of Prometheus, to commemorate his introduction of fire among mankind; Hephæsteia, in honour of Vulcan, celebrated with a torch-race.

[4] The reading διαδικάσαι δεῖ στρατείας is here retained by Dindorf, his translation being, *causæ militares disceptandæ sunt.* Schneider and Zeune read ἀστρατείας, a conjecture of Brodæus. Ἀστρατείας is neglect of military service, or exemption from it.

[5] Ὡς οὐδὲ νῦν ὅτ' ἐνιαυτοῦ, κ. τ. λ.] It would appear either that

are unable to pass sentences during the year, so as to check evil-doers, by reason of the great number of the people. 7. Suppose, then, somebody were to observe that they must indeed give judgment, but that the judges might sit in smaller bodies. It will then be necessary, if they make several courts of justice, that there be but few judges in each court; and it will thus be comparatively easy to intrigue [1] with a small number of judges, and to bribe them all to decide with much less regard to justice. 8. In addition, we must consider that the Athenians have to celebrate festivals, during which they cannot try causes in the courts. They keep twice as many feasts as any other people keep; but I am supposing theirs equal to those of the people who keep the fewest;[2] and such, then, being the case, I deny it to be possible that affairs at Athens can proceed otherwise than at present, except that they may set aside one thing, and introduce another, by little and little; but to make any great alteration is impossible, without taking something from the influence of the democracy. 9. It would be possible to devise numbers of plans by which their state might be placed in a better condition; but to discover how their democratic form of government is to continue, and to determine satisfactorily how they may manage their civil affairs better, except, as I just now said, by gradually adding or taking away, is not easy.

10. The Athenians are also thought to show a want of policy in this respect, that, in states which are divided into parties, they favour that of the lower orders. But it is, in reality, with judgment that they act thus; for if they favoured the better class, they would favour those who are not of the same political sentiments with themselves, since in no community are the aristocracy friendly to the power of the

these words are in some way incorrect, or that something that preceded them has dropped out of the text.

[1] *Διασκευάσασθαι.*] To strengthen one's self against the opposite party by threats, entreaties, bribes, and any other practicable means. *Weiske.* To contrive means to bribe the judges. *Zeune.*

[2] *Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν τίθημι ἴσας τῇ ὀλιγίστας ἀγούσῃ πόλει.*] *Quamquam ego plures* [dies festos] *non ponam illis quos ea civitas celebrat quæ paucissimos feriatur.* Leunclavius. The meaning of the writer seems to be, that, even if the Athenians celebrated no more festivals than those who celebrate the fewest, they would still not have time to despatch their business.

people, to which it is only the lowest orders, in any state, that are friendly, as like is always inclined to like. Accordingly, the Athenians hold to the party that is well disposed towards themselves.

11. Whenever, indeed, they have attempted to support the aristocracy, the attempt has not been of advantage to them, but within a very short time the plebeians have been reduced to slavery. This happened in the case of the Bœotians ;[1] and also when they took the side of the aristocracy among the Milesians, who very soon afterwards revolted from the Athenians, and massacred the plebeians;[2] and the result was similar when they took the side of the Lacedæmonians against the Messenians,[3] for the Lacedæmonians, within a very short period, subjugated the Messenians and made war on the people of Athens.

12. Some one might perhaps suppose that none are unjustly degraded from office at Athens;[4] but I must say that there are some who have been degraded unjustly, though certainly but few. There would be need of more than a few, however, to attack the democracy at Athens;[5] besides, such is human nature,[6] that men who suffer degradation justly en-

[1] Ὁ μὲν Βοιωτοῖς.] The text is here mutilated. "I suspect," says Schneider, "that the allusion is to the unsuccessful expedition of Tolmidas against the Bœotian exiles, mentioned by Thucydides, i. 113, Diod. Sic. xii. 6, and Plutarch, Life of Pericles, c. 24."

[2] We may conjecture that reference is here made to the war which the Athenians undertook against the Samians when accused by the Milesians, as is related by Thucydides, i. 115, Plutarch. Pericl. c. 24, Diodorus Siculus, lib. xii., and by the Scholiast on Aristoph. Vesp. 283. But we are not aware that the event of this war, or of the expedition against the Bœotians, was such as the text appears to indicate. *Schneider.*

[3] In the third Messenian war, as Weiske supposes, when the Athenians were solicited by the Lacedæmonians to assist them in besieging Ithome, but, when they came to the place, were told that their services were not wanted; and, being incensed at the insult, took the part of the Messenians against the Lacedæmonians, as is related by Thucyd. i. 108.

[4] Inasmuch as many of the magistrates are of the lower order (comp. sect. 13), who will protect them against injury.

[5] Something may be dreaded from these few, especially from those who have been degraded unjustly, but they are not numerous enough to make much impression on the government.

[6] Ἔπει τοι καὶ οὕτως ἔχει, κ. τ. λ.] *Præterea etiam illud cogitare oportet, in universam ita naturam homini esse constitutam, animumque humanum ita se habere, uti, &c.* Schneider.

tertain no resentful feelings,[1] while those who are degraded unjustly do entertain such feelings. 13. How then can any one suppose that many have been unjustly degraded at Athens, where it is the plebeian order that hold offices? It is from acting dishonestly in office, and from saying or doing what is unjust, that men are degraded at Athens. He who takes this into consideration must not apprehend that there is any danger to Athens from those who have been degraded.

[1] Ἐνθυμεῖσθαι.] *Moveri——ad iram et ultionis consilium.* Schneider. *Moliri aliquid mali, sive res novas.* Zeune.

ON THE MEANS OF IMPROVING THE REVENUES

OF

THE STATE OF ATHENS.

REMARK.

THIS book is supposed by Schneider, from internal evidence, to have been written by Xenophon in his old age, after the one hundred and sixth Olympiad, or B. C. 353, the year in which the Phocians under Onomarchus were defeated by Philip of Macedon.

CHAPTER I.

On the soil of Attica, and the possibility of increasing its revenues.

1. I AM always of opinion that of whatever character governors are, of a similar character also are the governments which they conduct. But as some of those who rule at Athens have been said to know what is just, no less than other men, but have declared that they are compelled, through the poverty of the common people, to act with somewhat of injustice towards the allied cities,[1] I have in consequence set myself to consider whether the citizens may by any means be maintained from the resources of their own country, from which it is most just that they should be maintained, thinking that, if this should be the case, remedy would at once be afforded for their wants, and for the jealousy which they incur from the other Greeks.

[1] Τὰς πόλεις.] That is, τὰς πόλεις τὰς συμμαχίδας. They were called cities or states in alliance with Athens, but were in reality subject to the Athenian power.

2. As I revolved in my mind what I observed, it readily appeared to me that the country is well qualified by nature to afford very large revenues; and in order that it may be understood that I say this with truth, I will first of all give an account of the natural resources of Attica. 3. That the seasons in it are extremely mild, the products of the soil testify; for such as will not even grow in many countries bear fruit in perfection in Attica. And as the land is most productive, so likewise is the sea that surrounds the land; and whatever fruits the gods afford in their several seasons begin in this country earliest, and cease latest. 4. Nor is the land superior only in things that grow up and decay annually, but has also permanent advantages; for stone is supplied from it in abundance, from which the most magnificent temples, the most beautiful altars, and the finest statues of the gods are made, and in which many both Greeks and barbarians desire to participate. 5. There are indeed portions of the soil which, though sown, will not produce fruit, but which, if they are penetrated by digging, will support many more people than if they produced corn, as, doubtless by divine dispensation, they contain silver beneath the surface; and though there are many states lying near, both by land and by sea, not even the smallest vein of silver is found to extend into any one of them. 6. A person might not unreasonably suppose that the state is situate in the centre, not only of Greece, but of the whole inhabited world; for the further people are from it, the more severe cold or heat do they experience; and whatever travellers would pass from one end of Greece to the other, must all either sail by Athens, or pass it by land, as the centre of their circle.[1] 7. Though it is not surrounded by water, it nevertheless attracts to itself like an island, with the aid of every wind, whatever it requires, and sends away whatever it desires to export; for it has sea on each side of it. By land, too, it receives many kinds of merchandise, as it is joined to the continent. 8. To many states, moreover, barbarians who

[1] "Ωσπερ κύκλου τόρνον.] Τόρνος, according to Hesychius, means "an artificer's tool for describing a circle;" it appears to have been a sort of pencil at the end of a string. But Weiske very properly observes that τόρνος must here mean what is fixed in the centre, a stick or thread being moved round it to describe the circumference; and Schneider agrees with him.

dwell on their borders cause annoyance; but states border on the Athenians which are themselves at a distance from the barbarians.[1]

CHAPTER II.

Of the possibility of attracting a greater number of foreigners to sojourn at Athens.

1. Of all these advantages, I think that the land is itself, as I said, the cause; and if to the blessings bestowed by nature there be joined, in the first place, an attention to the interests of strangers sojourning in it, (for that source of revenue appears to me to be one of the best, since strangers, while they maintain themselves, and confer great benefits on the states in which they live, receive no pension from the public, but pay the tax imposed on aliens,)[2] such attention would seem to me likely to be of the utmost benefit; 2. especially if we relieve them at the same time from such impositions as, while they are of no benefit to the state, appear to cast on them a mark of dishonour, and if we exempt them likewise from taking the field as heavy-armed infantry along with the citizens; for the danger which they incur is great, and it is a great trouble to them to be away from their trades and families. 3. The state would also be much more benefited, if the citizens stood by the side of one another in the field, than if, as is the case at present, Lydians, and Syrians, and Phrygians, and other barbarians from every nation be amalgamated with them. 4. In addition, too, to the good attendant on the exemption of strangers from joining the army, it would be an honour to the country for the Athenians to be seen to trust to themselves in the field of battle rather than to foreigners. 5. While we give a share, moreover, to foreigners

[1] States that border on Attica, lying between it and the barbarians, are at a great distance from them; and Attica itself, and its capital Athens, must be at a still greater distance.

[2] Μετοίκιον.] A tax of twelve drachmæ annually on every foreigner residing at Athens.

of other privileges which it is proper to share with them, we should be likely in my opinion, if we gave them admission also into the cavalry,[1] to render them better disposed towards us, and to increase the strength and greatness of our country. 6. Besides, as there are within the walls many pieces of ground[2] for building, vacant of houses, I think that if the state were to allow them to become the property of those who might build upon them, and who, on applying for them, might seem to be deserving, a greater number of respectable persons would by that means become desirous of a settlement at Athens. 7. If we should institute an order of guardians of foreigners, also, as we have one of guardians of orphans, and some honour should be conferred on such of them as should bring in the greatest number of foreigners, such a plan would make the foreigners more contented under us, and, as is likely, all who have no residence in any other city[3] would eagerly seek a settlement at Athens,[4] and would thus increase the public revenue.

CHAPTER III.

Of granting privileges to merchants, and the benefits to be expected from increased traffic.

1. In proof that the city is extremely pleasant and lucrative as a place of trade, I will mention the following particulars. In the first place, it has the finest and safest harbours for vessels, where navigators may moor and rest in case of a storm. 2. In the next place, merchants, in most other cities,

[1] Foreigners were excluded from the cavalry. Comp. Hipparch. c. 9, sect. 6.

[2] Οἰκόπεδα.] *Loci apti ad recipiendas et sustinendas domos*, is Weiske's interpretation. The καὶ before it should be struck out, as Dindorf and Sauppe observe.

[3] People who have been banished from their own cities, or whose cities have been destroyed or fallen into decay.

[4] Ἀθήνηθεν.] Weiske and Schneider would read Ἀθήνῃσι, but Ἀθήνηθεν, "from Athens," may, as Sauppe observes, be understood as equivalent to "from the Athenians."

must barter one commodity for another; for the inhabitants use money that will not pass beyond the limits of the country; but at Athens, while there is abundance of goods, such as people require, for exportation, still, if merchants do not wish to barter, they may carry off an excellent freight by taking away our silver, for wherever they dispose of it, they will always gain more than its original value.

3. If we should propose rewards, however, for the judges of the tribunal of commerce,[1] to be given to such as should decide points of controversy with the greatest justice and expedition, so that persons who wished to sail might not be detained, a still larger number of people would by that means be brought to trade with us, and with greater pleasure. 4. It would be for our advantage and credit also, that such merchants and shipowners as are found to benefit the state by bringing to it vessels and merchandise of great account should be honoured with seats of distinction on public occasions, and sometimes invited to entertainments; for, being treated with such respect, they would hasten to return to us, as to friends, for the sake, not merely of gain, but of honour. 5. The more people settled among us and visited us, the greater quantity of merchandise, it is evident, would be imported, exported,[2] and sold, and the more gain would be secured, and tribute received. 6. To effect such augmentations of the revenue, it is not necessary for us to be at any cost but that of philanthropic ordinances and careful superintendence.

For securing whatever other revenues seem likely to come in to us, I know that there will be need of a fund. 7. Yet I am not without hope that the citizens will readily contribute for this purpose, when I reflect how much the state contributed at the period when it assisted the Arcadians under the command of Lysistratus,[3] and how much under that of

[1] *Τῷ τοῦ ἐμπορίου ἀρχῷ.*] The judges that composed this court seem to have been the *ναυτοδίκαι*, whose office appears to have been abolished about the time of Philip of Macedon, their business being transferred to the thesmothetæ. See Boeckh. Pub. Econ. of Athens, 1, § 9, p. 69.

[2] The words *καὶ ἐξάγοιτο* Dindorf would very properly expunge, as they are the same in signification with *καὶ ἐκπέμποιτο*, immediately following.

[3] I have not found this general named either by Xenophon in his Hellenics, or by any other historian of the affairs of that period; but the expedition of the Athenians must be placed before the battle of

Hegesilaus.[1] 8. I know also that galleys have often been sent out at great expense, galleys which were built when it was uncertain whether the result of the expedition would be for better or for worse, though it was very certain that the contributors would never receive back what they had paid, or even recover any portion of it. 9. But at present the citizens can acquire no gains so creditable as those from what they may contribute for this fund; for to him whose contribution shall be ten minæ, about the fifth part will return as interest from the fleet, as he will receive three oboli a day;[2] and to him whose contribution shall be five minæ, there will be a return of more than the third.[3] 10. The most of the Athenians, assuredly, will receive annually more than they have contributed; for those who contribute a mina will have an income of almost two minæ,[4] and will have it in the city, being an income, too, that appears the safest and most durable of human things. 11. I think too, for my own part, that if the benefactors to our state were to have their names enrolled for transmission to posterity, many foreigners would give us their contributions, as well as some whole cities, through a desire for such enrolment. I should expect also that kings and other

Mantinea, as indeed the order in which Xenophon names the two generals indicates. *Schneider.* We may infer that the expedition under Lysistratus was undertaken after the alliance made by the Athenians with the Arcadians, Ol. ciii. 3, as related by Xenophon, Hellen. vii. 4. 2, and Diodorus Siculus, xv. 77. *Sauppe.*

[1] That this expedition under Hegesilaus took place Olymp. civ. 2, is shown by Boeckh, ii. 145. *Sauppe.*

[2] A mina was equal to six hundred oboli, or £4 1*s.* 3*d.* of our money, the obolus being equal to three half-pence and half a farthing. Hussey's Essay on Ancient Weights and Money, ch. iii. As ten minæ were equal to six thousand oboli, if a contributor received three oboli a day for three hundred and sixty days, he would receive in all one thousand and eighty oboli, which would be something less than the fifth part of the ten minæ.

[3] If a contributor gave five minæ, or three thousand oboli, and received three oboli a day for three hundred and sixty days, he would receive in all one thousand and eighty oboli, which would be a little more than the third part of the sum contributed. Each contributor was to give, it would appear, according to his means, and all to receive the same remuneration.

[4] If they contribute a mina, or six hundred oboli, and receive one thousand and eighty oboli, they will receive nearly two minæ, equal to twelve hundred oboli.

sovereign princes and satraps would feel a desire to participate in so gratifying an acknowledgment.

12. When a fund is established, it will be for the honour and interest of the state to build lodging-houses, in addition to those at present existing round the harbours, for the accommodation of seamen; and it would be well, also, to build others for merchants, in places convenient for buying and selling, as well as public houses of entertainment for all that come to the city. 13. If, moreover, houses and shops were to be erected for retail dealers, at the Peiræeus and in the city, they would not only be an ornament to the city, but a great accession of income would be derived from them. 14. It seems to me, likewise, proper to try whether it be possible for the state, as it possesses public war-galleys, to have also public vessels for conveying merchandise, and to let them out for hire, upon persons giving security for them, as is the case with other things belonging to the public; for if this should appear practicable, a large income might be derived from that source.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the extent of silver mines in Attica, § 1—12. How they may be rendered profitable to the state, 13—33. Replies to objections that may be made to the plans proposed, 34—52.

1. SHOULD our silver mines, too, be managed as they ought to be, I consider that great profits might be drawn from them, in addition to our other revenues. To those who do not know their value, I should wish to make it known; for, when you know this, you will be the better enabled to form plans for arrangements respecting them. 2. That they were wrought in very ancient times is well known to all; for assuredly no one attempts to specify at what time they began to be formed. But though the earth containing silver has been so long dug and cast up, consider how small a portion the heaps which have been thrown out are of the hills that remain still in their natural state, and that contain silver underneath them. 3. Nor does

the space of ground that is dug for silver appear to be at all diminished, but to be perpetually extended in a wider circuit; and during the time that the greatest number of men were in the mines, no one was ever in want of occupation, but there was always more work than enough for the hands employed. 4. At the present time, too, no one of those who have slaves in the mines is diminishing the number of them, but is indeed continually adding to it as many as he can; for when but few are engaged in digging and searching, little treasure is found; but when many are employed, a far greater quantity of silver ore is discovered; so that in this occupation alone, of all those that I know, no one envies those that extend their operations.[1] 5. All persons that have farms would be able to say how many yokes of oxen, and how many workmen, would be sufficient for their land; and if they send into their fields more than are necessary, they consider it a loss; but in the mining operations for silver, they say that all are constantly in want of workmen. 6. For the consequence is not the same in this case as it is when there are numbers of workers in brass, and when, as articles made of brass then necessarily become cheap,[2] the workmen are ruined, nor is it the same as when there are excessive numbers of blacksmiths; or as when there is abundance of corn and wine, and when, as the fruits of the earth are cheap, agriculture becomes unprofitable, so that many farmers, quitting their occupation of tilling the ground, betake themselves to the employments of merchants, or inn-keepers, or bankers; but, in regard to the silver mines, the more silver ore is found, and the more silver is extracted, the greater is the number that devote themselves to mining. 7. Of furniture, when people have got enough of it for their houses, they do not much care for buying additional supplies; but nobody has ever yet had so much silver as not to desire

[1] Οὐδὲ *φθονεῖ οὐδεὶς τοῖς ἐπισκευαζομένοις*.] The commentators have been much in doubt as to the meaning of these words. Sturz seems to give the right interpretation: *novam laboris atque adeò lucri materiam sibi parantibus*. "Un nouvel entrepreneur ne fasse point d'ombrage aux anciens." *Gail*. The field is large enough for all, and the more are employed in it, the more money accrues to the state.

[2] Ἀξίων *γενομένων*.] The word ἄξιος is here used in a not very common signification, that of *cheap, easy to be bought*. Suidas, under the word ἀξιώτερον, says that ἄξιος was used by the Attics for εὔωνος, and the same is said by Mœris.

an increase of it; and if people have a superabundance, they hoard it, and are not less delighted with doing so than with putting it to use. 8. When communities, too, are in the most flourishing condition, people have very great use for money; for the men are ready to be at expense for beautiful arms, or fine horses, or magnificent houses or furniture;[1] and the women are eager for expensive dresses and golden ornaments. 9. When communities, on the other hand, are in distress, whether from scarcity of corn or from the effects of war, they are still more in want of money, as the land lies uncultivated, both for purchasing provisions and for paying auxiliary troops.

10. If any one should say that gold is not less useful for such purposes than silver, I do not dispute the truth of the assertion; but I am aware at the same time that gold, if it shows itself in great quantities, becomes much less valuable, and renders silver of a higher price. 11. These remarks I have made with a view that we should send with confidence as many workmen as possible into the silver mines, and should with confidence continue our operations in them, fully trusting that the silver ore is not going to fail, and that silver will never lose its value. 12. The state, however, appears to me to have known this long before I knew it; for it allows any foreigner that pleases to work in the mines, on paying the same duty as the citizens.[2]

13. But that I may make the subjects still more clear with reference to the maintenance of the citizens, I will state how the mines may be managed so as to be most beneficial to the country. For what I am going to say, however, I do not desire to court admiration, as if I had found out something difficult to be discovered; for part of what I shall state we all at present see before us, and the condition of things in times past, we hear, was of an exactly similar character. 14. But we cannot but feel surprised that the state, when it sees many private individuals enriching themselves from its resources, does not imitate their proceedings; for we heard long

[1] Καταστενάς.] Sturz very properly considers that this word here means *supellex, cultus ædium*. Leunclavius renders it by *structuras*, and Gail by "un grand train."

[2] Both paying the twenty-fourth part of the profits which they derived from the mines. See Boeckh, i. 155, 332; ii. 78. *Sauppe.*

ago, indeed, at least such of us as attended to these matters, that Nicias the son of Niceratus kept a thousand men employed in the silver mines, whom he let on hire to Sosias of Thrace, on condition that he should give him for each an obolus a-day, free of all charges; and this number he always supplied undiminished. Hipponicus also had six hundred slaves let out at the same rate, which brought him in a clear mina a-day;[1] Philemonides had three hundred, which brought him half a mina; and others had other complements of slaves, according, I suppose, to their respective resources. 16. But why should I dwell upon former times, when there are numbers of men in the mines let out in the same manner at present? 17. And if what I propose be carried into effect, the only new point in it would be, that as private individuals, by the possession of slaves, have secured themselves a constant revenue, so the state should possess public slaves, to the number of three for each Athenian citizen.[2]

18. Whether what I propose is practicable, let him who chooses, after considering every point of it, pronounce a judgment. As to the price for slaves, it is evident that the state can procure it better than private individuals. It is easy for the senate to issue a proclamation that he who will may bring his slaves, and then to buy all that are brought. 19. When they are bought, why should not any person be as willing to hire slaves from the state as from a private individual, if he is to have them on the same terms? At least they hire from the state consecrated grounds, and temples, and houses, and farm the public taxes.[3] 20. That the slaves purchased for the public may be kept safe, the state may require sureties from those who hire them, as they require them from those who farm the taxes; and it is indeed much easier for him who farms a tax to defraud the public than for him who hires slaves. 21. For how can any one identify the public money that is embezzled, when private money is exactly like it; but as for slaves, when they are marked with the public mark, and when a penalty is denounced against him who sells or exports them, how

[1] The mina being six hundred oboli. See note on c. 3, sect. 9.

[2] So that each Athenian citizen, says Weiske, might hire three slaves from the government, paying the government for their services.

[3] On this subject see Boeckh, I. 325—321; Wachsmuth, ii. 1, 129, 151; Meier et Schoem. p. 516; Arnold, Thucyd. iii. 50. *Sauppe.*

could any one steal them? So far, therefore, it will appear to be possible for the state to acquire and to preserve slaves.

22. But if any one doubts whether, after a great number of workmen have been procured, a great number[1] of persons will also present themselves to hire them, let him be of good courage, reflecting that many of those who already possess slaves will still hire those belonging to the public, (for there is plenty of work to employ them), and that many of those engaged in the works are growing old, while there are many others, both Athenians and foreigners, who would neither be able nor willing to engage in corporeal labour, but who would gladly gain a subsistence by applying their minds to the superintendence of the business. 23. If at first, then, a thousand two hundred slaves be collected, it is probable that, with the income from that number a complement of not less than six thousand might in five or six years be obtained; and if, of this number, each brings in a clear obolus, the profit will be sixty talents a year.[2] 24. If of those sixty talents twenty be devoted to the purchase of more slaves, the state will be at liberty to use the other forty for whatever other purpose it may think proper; and when the number of ten thousand slaves is made up, the yearly revenue from them will be a hundred talents.

25. That the state will receive[3] even a far greater profit than this, those will agree with me in thinking, who remember, if there are any that still remember, how great a height the income from the slaves reached before the occurrences at Deceleia.[4] The fact, also, that, though innumerable workmen have been perpetually employed in the mines, their pre-

[1] Schneider thinks that *οὐ* should be inserted before the second *πολλοί* in the text; and Sauppe agrees with him. My translation is somewhat forced, to suit the absence of the negative.

[2] Six thousand slaves will bring in six thousand oboli a day, and thus, if we reckon three hundred and sixty days to the year, the annual income from them will be two million one hundred and sixteen thousand oboli, which sum, divided by thirty-six thousand, the number of oboli in a talent, will give sixty talents.

[3] Δέξεται.] The nominative case is πόλις, as Sauppe observes; *agitur enim de civitate et ejus reditibus.*

[4] Zeune supposes that the occupation of Deceleia by the Lacedæmonians is meant, in the nineteenth year of the Peloponnesian war, when twenty thousand of the Athenian slaves deserted to the enemy, as is related by Thucydides, vii. 27.

sent condition is not at all different from that in which our forefathers remember them to have been, affords me additional support for this supposition. 26. Indeed, all that is now done in the mines testifies that there can never be a greater number of slaves there than the works require; for those who are employed in digging find no limit to the depth or ramifications of their works. 27. To cut in a new direction is assuredly not less practicable now than it was formerly; nor can any one say, from certain knowledge, whether there is more silver ore in the parts which have been opened than is to be found in those which are undisturbed. 28. Why then, some one may ask, do not many make new cuttings now, as of old? It is because those engaged about the mines are now poorer; for it was but lately that they began to be wrought again; and great risk is incurred by a person commencing new operations; for he indeed that finds a profitable field of labour becomes rich, but he who does not find one loses all that he has expended; and into such risk the men of the present day are by no means willing to run.

30. I think, however, that I am able to give some advice with regard to this difficulty also, and to show how new operations may be conducted with the greatest safety. There are ten tribes at Athens, and if to each of these the state should assign an equal number of slaves, and the tribes should all make new cuttings, sharing their fortune in common, then, if but one tribe should make any useful discovery, it would point out something profitable to the whole; 31. but if two, or three, or four, or half the number should make some discovery, it is plain that the works would be more profitable in proportion; and that they should all fail is contrary to all the experience of past times. 32. It is possible also for private individuals to unite and share their fortunes together, and thus to venture with greater safety; and you need entertain no apprehensions either that the public company thus constituted will injure the private adventurers, or that the private adventurers will inconvenience the public company; but as allies in the field of battle, the greater the number in which they meet, render one another proportionately stronger, so the greater the number that are employed in the mines, the more gain will they acquire and bring to the state.

33. I have now stated how I think that public matters may be arranged, so that sufficient maintenance may be secured from our common resources for the whole body of the Athenian people.

34. If any of us, considering that there will be need of vast funds for all these works, think that sufficient money will never be contributed, let them not be cast down through that apprehension. 35. For there is no necessity that all these things should be done at once, or else no profit will result from them; but whatever buildings are erected, or ships constructed, or slaves purchased, the proceedings will straightway be attended with profit. 36. It is indeed more advantageous that such things should be done gradually than that they should all be done at once; for if we were to build all together, we should do our work at greater cost and with less efficiency than if we were to build by degrees; and if we were to get a vast number of slaves at once, we should be compelled to buy them in worse condition and at a higher price. 37. Proceeding however according to our ability, we may continue any operations that have been well planned, and if any error has been committed, we may take care not to repeat it. 38. Besides, if everything were to be done at once, it would be necessary for us to procure means for everything at the same time; but if part be done now, and part deferred, the incoming revenue may assist in obtaining what is necessary for future proceedings.

39. But as to that which appears to everybody most to be apprehended, I mean that, if the state purchase an extraordinary number of slaves, the works may be overstocked, we may feel quite free from that apprehension, if we do not send into the mines every year a greater number than the operations require. 40. Thus it appears to me that the way in which it is easiest to pursue these plans is also that in which it is best. But if, again, you think that, on account of the contributions made during the present war, you are unable to contribute anything further, you must, whatever sum of money the taxes brought in before the peace, conduct the administration with that exact sum during the next year, and whatever additional sum they may bring, through peace having taken place, through attention being paid to the sojourners and merchants, through more commodities being imported

and exported in consequence of a greater number of people resorting to us, and through the sale of goods being increased at the harbour, you must take that sum and appropriate it in such a way that the revenues may be advanced to the utmost. 41. If, however, any feel apprehensive that this course, if war occur, will prove ineffectual, let them consider that, even if war should break out, it will be far more formidable to those who attack us than to our state. 42. For what acquisition would be more useful for war than a great number of people, since they would be able to man many of the public vessels, while many of them also, serving for the public on land, would offer a powerful resistance to the enemy, provided that we do but treat them well?

43. I consider, too, that even if war takes place, it is possible to prevent our mines from being abandoned; for there is, we know, a fortress near the mines at Anaphlystus, on the sea towards the south, and another at Thoricus, on the sea towards the north;[1] and these two are distant from each other about sixty furlongs. 44. If, then, a third fort should be built between these on the summit of Besa, the workmen might then retire into some one of all these fortresses, and, if they should see an enemy approaching, it would be but a short distance for each to retreat to a place of safety. 45. Should even an overpowering number of enemies come, they would, doubtless, if they found corn, or wine, or cattle, without the works, carry them off; but if they even occupied the mining ground, of what more would they possess themselves than a heap of stones? 46. But how, indeed, could our enemies ever make an inroad on our mines? for the city of Megara, which is nearest to them, is distant much more than five hundred stadia; and Thebes, which is the nearest city after Megara, is distant much more than six hundred. 47. If they should advance upon the mines, then, from any part in that direction, they will be under the necessity of passing by the city of Athens; and if they come in small numbers, it is probable that they will be cut off by the cavalry and the guards of the frontier;[2] while it is difficult to imagine that they will march

[1] Anaphlystus and Thoricus were two *demi* of Attica, lying towards the sea-coast eastward from Athens. Besa, or Beseis, was another *demus*.

[2] Ὑπὸ περιπόλων.] The περιπόλοι were mostly young men of Athens, between the ages of eighteen and twenty, who were sent out to learn the

out with a large force, leaving their own country unguarded; for the city of Athens would be much nearer to their cities, than they themselves would be when they are at the mines. 48. But, even if they should come in great force, how could they stay, when they would have no provisions? since, should they go out to get provisions in small parties, there would be danger both to those who went out for provisions, and to those who remained behind to fight;[1] and, if their whole force went out foraging on every occasion, they would be besieged rather than besiegers.[2]

49. Not only the profit from the slaves, then, would increase the resources of the city, but, as a vast number of people would collect about the mines, there would also arise a great income from the market held there,[3] from the rent of the public buildings around the mines, from the furnaces, and from all other sources of that kind. 50. Our city, too, if it be thus supported, will become extremely populous, and land about the mines will grow as valuable to those who possess it there as to those who have it around Athens. 51. Should all indeed be done that I have proposed, I maintain that the state will not only be better supplied with money, but will be more quiet and orderly, and better prepared for war. 52. For those who are appointed to exercise the youth would discharge their duties in the gymnasia with greater care, as they would then receive more pay than those now receive who act as gymnasiarchs for the torch-race;[4] and those who are sent to be stationed in garrisons, as well as those who are to serve as

rudiments of warfare as a kind of military police on the outskirts of the country. Pollux, viii. 106; Photius, *sub voce*. They are the same that are said, in sect. 52, *περιπολεῖν τὴν χώραν*.

[1] *Περὶ ὧν ἀγωνίζονται.*] An abbreviation, says Sauppe, for *περὶ τούτων οἳ ἀγωνίζονται.*

[2] That is, they would be like besieged troops lying inactive, in want of provisions, and forced to be content if they escaped suffering from hunger. *Weiske.*

[3] *Ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς τῆς ἐκείνου αὖ.*] The words *τῆς ἐκείνου*, though manifestly corrupt, are yet retained by Dindorf in his text. I follow Leunclavius's conjecture, *τῆς ἐκεῖ οὔσης.*

[4] *Οἵ τε γὰρ ταχθέντες γυμνάζεσθαι—γυμνασιαρχούμενοι.*] I consider that Gail must be right in his notion of the sense of these words: "Les intendans des exercices gymniques, jouissant d'un sort plus honnête que ceux qui président aux exercices de torches, se montreront plus assidus à leurs fonctions." Leunclavius, however, renders *γυμνάζεσθαι* "se exercere," and *γυμνασιαρχούμενοι* "qui gymnasiarchæ parent."

peltasts, and to keep guard round the country,[1] would perform all their occupations more efficiently, if pay were given them for each of their duties.

CHAPTER V.

Necessity of peace for the maintenance and improvement of the revenue.

1. But if it appears evident, that, if the full revenues from the state are to be collected, there must be peace, is it not proper for us also to appoint guardians of peace?[2] for such an office, if established, would render the city more agreeable for all men to visit, and more frequented. 2. Should any persons imagine, however, that if our state continues to maintain peace, it will be less powerful, and esteemed, and celebrated through Greece, such persons, in my opinion, entertain an unreasonable apprehension; for those states, assuredly, are most prosperous, which have remained at peace for the longest period; and of all states Athens is the best adapted by nature for flourishing during peace. 3. Who, indeed, if the city were in the enjoyment of peace, would not be eager to resort to it, and shipowners and merchants most of all? Would not those who have plenty of corn, and ordinary wine, and wine of the sweetest kind, and olive oil, and cattle, flock to us, as well as those who can make profit by their ingenuity and by money-lending?[3] 4. Where would artificers, too, and sophists, and philosophers, and poets, and such as study their works, and such as desire to witness sacrifices, or religious ceremonies worthy of being seen and heard, and such as desire to make a quick sale or purchase of many commodities, obtain their objects better than at Athens? 5. If no

[1] *Περιπολεῖν τὴν χώραν.*] See note on sect. 47.

[2] *Εἰρηνοφύλακας.*] A sort of commissioners who might see that foreigners resident in the country suffered no wrong, and ascertain that every means was taken for maintaining peace.

[3] *Ἀργυρίῳ.*] Acting as *trapezitæ* or bankers, or using any means to get money by the aid of money.

one can answer in the negative to these questions, and yet some, who desire to recover the supreme dominion for our state, think that that end would be effected better by war than by peace, let them contemplate, first of all, the Persian invasion, and consider whether it was by force of arms or by good offices to the Greeks that we attained the head of the naval confederacy, and the management of the treasury of Greece.[1] 6. Besides, when our state, from being thought to exercise its power too tyrannically, was deprived of its supremacy, were we not then also, after we abstained from encroachment, again made rulers of the fleet by the unanimous consent of the islanders?[2] 7. Did not the Thebans, in consideration of the benefits which they had received, allow the Athenians to lead them?[3] Even the Lacedæmonians, not from being forced, but from having been assisted by us, allowed the Athenians to settle matters as they pleased respecting the supreme command.[4] 8. And at the present time, through the disturbances prevailing in Greece,[5] it seems to me that an opportunity has offered itself to our city to attach the Greeks to it again without difficulty, without danger, and without expense; for we may endeavour to reconcile the states that are at war with one another, and we may try also to unite such as are divided into factions. 9. If you should make it evident, too, not by forming warlike confederacies, but by sending embassies throughout Greece, that you are anxious for the temple at Delphi to be free as it was formerly, I think it would not be at all surprising if you should find all the Greeks ready to agree, and to form confederacies and alliances with you, against those[6] who sought to gain the mastery over the Delphic

[1] The Athenians had the appointment of the *Hellenotamiæ*, the officers who had charge of the contributions of the Grecian states for the Persian war. Thucyd. I. 96.

[2] After the battle of Leuctra, or, as Boeckh thinks (II. 144), somewhat sooner, about the third or fourth year of the hundredth Olympiad.

[3] To what period this refers, is uncertain.

[4] This doubtless refers to what took place in the fourth year of the hundred and second Olympiad; see Hellen. vii. 1. *Schneider.* See also Diod. Sic. xv. 67.

[5] Referring to the state of things after the battle of Mantinœa, Olymp. civ. 2. See the conclusion of Xenophon's Hellenics. *Schneider.*

[6] Zeune understands the Thebans, from Justin, b. viii. The Phocians under Philomelus had taken possession of the temple; and the Thebans rose in opposition to them, and were after a time supported by Philip and the Macedonians. *Schneider.*

temple when the Phocians relinquished it. 10. If you indicate, moreover, that you are desirous that peace should prevail over the whole land and sea, I consider that all the Greeks, next to the security of their own countries, would pray for the preservation of Athens.

11. But if any one still thinks that war is more conducive to the wealth of our city than peace, I know not by what means this point can be better decided, than by considering what effect events that occurred in former times produced on our city. 12. For he will find that in days of old vast sums of money were brought into the city during peace, and that the whole of it was expended during war; and he will learn, if he gives his attention to the subject, that, in the present day, many branches of the revenue are deficient in consequence of the war, and that the money from those which have been productive has been spent on many urgent requisitions of every kind; but that now, when peace is established at sea, the revenues are increasing, and that the citizens are at liberty to make whatever use of them they please.

13. If any one should ask me this question, "Do you mean that, even if any power should unjustly attack our state, we must maintain peace with that power?" I should not say that I had any such intention; but I may safely assert, that we shall retaliate on any aggressors with far greater facility, if we can show that none of our people does wrong to any one;[1] for then our enemies will not have a single supporter.

CHAPTER VI.

Advantages that will arise from the plans proposed. Divine aid and protection to be sought.

1. If, then, of all that has been said, nothing appears impossible or even difficult, and if, in case that what I propose be effected, we shall secure increased attachment from the

[1] Εἰ μηδένα παρέγοιμεν ἀδικοῦντα.] *Si efficere conemur, ut nemo civium nostrorum extraneos vel socios injuriâ efficiat.* Sauppe.

Greeks in general, dwell in greater security, and be distinguished with greater honour,—if the common people will have plenty of provisions, and the rich be eased of the expenses for war,—if, as abundance increases, we shall celebrate our festivals with greater magnificence than at present, shall repair our temples, rebuild our walls and docks, and restore their civil rights [1] to the priests, the senate, the magistrates, and the cavalry, is it not proper that we should proceed to execute these plans as soon as possible, that, even in our days, we may see our country flourishing in security? 2. Should we resolve on pursuing these measures, I should recommend that we should send to Dodona and Delphi to inquire of the gods whether it will be better and more advantageous for the state, for the present time and for posterity, thus to regulate itself. 3. If the gods should give their assent to the proceedings, I should say that we ought then to ask which of the gods we should propitiate in order to execute our designs in the best and most efficient manner; and whichever of the deities they name in their reply, it will be proper to seek favourable omens from them by sacrifices, and then to commence our operations; for if our undertakings are begun with the support of the gods, it is likely that the results from them will lead continually to that which is still better and more advantageous for the state.

[1] Τὰ πάτρια.] "Leurs anciens droits." *Gail.* Sauppe supposes that there had been an intermission of pay from want of funds.

REMARKS

ON THE TREATISE ON HORSEMANSHIP.

THIS treatise, as Weiske observes, is the production of a man who had had much experience in horsemanship, and who had nicely observed the habits and character of the horse. He speaks with commendation, at the commencement, of a writer named Simo, who had published a work on horses. Of Simo little more is known than what Xenophon tells; he is called an Athenian by Suidas (v. Τρίλλη), and is several times cited by Pollux. According to Pliny, H. N. xxxiv. 8, he was the first that wrote on horsemanship.

In delivering his observations and precepts, Xenophon sometimes uses the first person plural, and sometimes the first person singular, but the reason for the difference does not appear. The treatise seems from the conclusion to have been written after the *Hipparchicus*, but as it is printed in all editions before it, it is here suffered to retain its precedence.

ON HORSEMANSHIP.

CHAPTER I.

How a person may judge of a colt, so as not to be deceived in purchasing.

1. SINCE, as it has been our fortune to be long engaged about horses, we consider that we have acquired some knowledge of horsemanship; we desire also to intimate to the younger part of our friends how we think that they may bestow their attention on horses to the best advantage. Simo has indeed written, too, on the management of horses, who also made an offering of the brazen horse on the temple of the Eleusinian Ceres[1] at Athens, and engraved his own works[2] on the pedestal; and in whatever particulars, assuredly, we happen to be of the same opinion with him, we shall not expunge[3] them from our pages, but shall lay them before our friends with far greater pleasure, expecting to acquire additional credit, since he who was skilled in horses had the same notions with us; and on such points as he has left unnoticed we shall endeavour to throw light.

[1] Τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον.] *Templum Cereris Eleusiniæ Athenis.* See Pausan. i. 4. *Sturz, Lex. Xen.*

[2] Τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργα.] Weiske supposes that these words mean the arts and contrivances which he adopted in the management of horses, and which he indicated by the representation of a horse and man in certain attitudes on the pedestal of the statue. This notion is supported by a fragment of Hiefocles, given in the collection of writings *De Re Veterinariâ*, published by Simon Grynæus, Basil, 1537. Some have supposed that Simo was himself a statuary, but this is not apparent.

[3] Ἐξαλείψομεν.] Xenophon speaks as if he had written his own book before he saw Simo's.

We shall show, first of all, how a man may be least deceived in purchasing a horse. In regard to a colt not yet broken, it is plain that we must examine his body; for of his temper a horse that has never been mounted can give no certain indications.

2. In respect to his body, then, we assert that we must first examine the *feet;* for as there would be no use in a house, though the upper parts were extremely beautiful, if the foundations were not laid as they ought to be, so there would be no profit in a war-horse, even if he had all his other parts excellent, but was unsound in the feet; for he would be unable to render any of his other good qualities effective.

3. A person may form his opinion of the feet by first examining the *hoofs;* for *thick* hoofs are much more conducive to firmness of tread than *thin* ones; and it must also not escape his notice whether the hoofs are *high* or *low*, as well *before* as *behind;* for high hoofs raise what is called the *frog*[1] far above the ground; and low ones tread equally on the strongest and softest part of the foot, like in-kneed men. Simo says that horses which have good feet may be known by the *sound;* and he says this with great justice, for a hollow hoof rings against the ground like a cymbal.[2]

4. Since we have commenced with this part, we shall ascend from it to the rest of the body. The bones[3] immediately

[1] Χελιδόνα.] The soft and hollow part of the hoof, called also βάτραχος, and by Vegetius *ranula*; in French, *la fourchette*; in German, *der Strahl*. As it has no similarity to a swallow, the derivation is perhaps from χλιδών, denoting its tenderness. *Weiske*. The translator of this treatise of Xenophon's, in Berenger's "History of Horsemanship," renders it "the *frog*, or rather the sole."

[2] Monsieur Bourgelat, in his preface to the second volume of "Les Elemens Hippiatriques," reprehends this remark as trifling and false; and if our author is to be understood literally—and the words seem to admit no other construction—the criticism is certainly just. It may be but candid, nevertheless, to think that Xenophon could mean to say no more than that the feet, if well formed and in good condition, could bear to be struck against the ground so forcibly as to make it ring and sound; and that this noise was a proof of their soundness, otherwise the horse could not bear the shock, so as to make his beats firm and distinct. Berenger's Hist. of Horsemanship, vol. i. p. 221. *Solido graviter sonat ungula cornu.* Virg. Georg. iii. 88. Horses are mentioned by Isaiah as having "hoofs like flints."

[3] That is, the bones of the *pastern*.

above the hoofs, then, and below the fetlocks, must be neither too upright, like those of a goat (for then, being too unyielding,[1] they shake the rider, and such legs are more subject to inflammation), nor ought those bones to be too sloping; for the fetlocks will in that case be denuded of hair and galled, if the horse be ridden either among clods or over stones.

5. Of the *legs* the bones ought to be thick; for they are the supports of the body; but it is not in veins or flesh that their thickness should consist,[2] since, should this be the case, they must, when the horse is ridden over hard ground, be filled with blood, when hard tumours[3] will arise, and while the whole leg is swollen, the skin will widen; and when the skin is loose, the small bone of the leg[4] often gives way, and renders the horse lame.

6. If the colt, as he walks, bends his *knees* freely,[5] you may conjecture that he will have supple legs when he is ridden; for all colts in the course of time acquire greater freedom of motion in their knees; and supple joints are justly commended, for they render a horse less likely to stumble and grow tired than stiff joints.

7. The *thighs*[6] under the shoulders, if they are stout, appear stronger and more graceful, as is the case with those of men. The *chest*, if somewhat broad, is better adapted both for beauty and strength, as well as for keeping the legs, not so as to touch,[7] but wide apart.

8. The *neck*, as it proceeds from the chest, should not fall forwards, like that of a boar, but should grow upwards like that of a cock, and should have an easy motion[8] at the parts

[1] Ἀντιτυπώτερα.] *Duriora atque nimis resistentia.* Sturz, Lex. Xen.

[2] The author means that the legs should be lean and dry, and the veins and sinews distinct, firm, and compact. *Berenger.*

[3] Κρισσούς.] In Latin, *varices.* See Celsus, vii. 31.

[4] Ἡ περόνη.] *Os exterius tibiæ.* Zeune.

[5] This is so clear and evident, that the rule is observed by the judicious to this day; as it is certain that no horse which has not a suppleness in his joints, and can bend his knees, can go either with safety or grace. *Berenger. Mollia crura*, Virg. Georg. iii. 76.

[6] These are now called the *arms*; they begin from the shoulder and reach to the knee. *Berenger.*

[7] Πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπαλλάξ.] *Ut crura non implicentur.* Camerarius.

[8] Λαγαρός.] *Mollis, non rigidus.* Sturz, Lex. Xen.

about the arch. The *head* should be bony,[1] and have a small cheek. Thus the neck will be directly in front of the rider,[2] and the eye of the animal will see what is before his feet.[3] A horse of such a shape would be less able to do mischief, even though he be extremely vicious; for it is not by bending, but by stretching out the neck and head, that horses attempt to be mischievous.

9. It is necessary to observe, however, whether both the *jaws*[4] be soft or hard, or only one of them, for horses which have not both the jaws alike are generally obstinate.[5] To have the *eye* prominent gives an air of greater vigilance to a horse than to have it sunk, and a horse with such an eye can see much further than another.

10. Wide *nostrils* are not only better adapted for breathing than those which are contracted, but make a horse appear more terrible; for when one horse is angry at another, or is excited in being ridden, he dilates his nostrils.

11. When the *top* of the head is somewhat large, and the *ears* rather small, they render a horse's head more like what it ought to be. The point of the shoulder being high renders the seat of the rider more secure, and makes the shoulder appear more firmly attached to the body. A double spine[6] is both much softer to sit upon, and more pleasing to the eye, than a single one.

[1] That is to say, the head should not be fleshy, but lean and dry; and these properties, added to small bones, will compose a *little head*, which is esteemed the most beautiful. *Berenger.*

[2] As the rider will sit immediately behind the erect neck of the horse. *Weiske.*

[3] On account of the smallness of the jaw, which will not obstruct his sight. *Weiske.*

[4] Berenger translates it "both the jaws or bars," and says in a note, "I have added the word *bars*, as explanatory of what Xenophon calls the jaws, although it must be confessed that the good or bad temper of a horse's mouth depends much upon the formation of the jaws, and the setting on of the head."

[5] *Ἑτερόγναθοι.*] Ἑτερόγναθος signifies a refractory horse, which, from the hardness of its mouth or jaw, will turn only to one side. Sturz, Lex. Xen. Leunclavius renders the word by *contumaces*. Suidas and Hesychius give it a similar sense. "Pour l'ordinaire, ceux qui ont les barres inégales, resistent plus d'un côté que de l'autre." *Gail.*

[6] *Et duplex agitur per lumbos spina.* Virg. Georg. iii. "A horse in good condition is said to have a double spine, because the fleshy parts on each side of the spine rise in two ridges." *Weiske.*

12. The *sides* being somewhat deep, and swelling towards the belly, render a horse in general more easy to ride, and stronger, and make him appear better profited by his food.[1] The broader and shorter the *loins* are, the more easily the horse raises his fore parts, and brings forward his hinder ones; and in so doing, his belly will appear smaller, which, if large, partly disfigures a horse, and renders him also weaker and less able to carry weight.

13. The *haunches* should be broad and well covered with flesh, that they may correspond to the sides and the chest; and if these parts are compact, they will be lighter for running, and render the horse much swifter.

14. If a horse has the *thighs* under the *tail* broad and not distorted,[2] he will then set his hind legs well apart, and will by that means have a quicker[3] and firmer step,[4] a better seat for a rider, and will be better in every respect.[5] We may see a proof of this in men; for when they wish to take up anything from the ground, they try to raise it by setting their legs apart rather than by bringing them together.

15. A horse should not have large *testicles;* but it is impossible to tell what will be the size of them in a colt. With regard to the *pasterns* of the hind legs, or *shins,* as well as the *fetlocks* and *hoofs,* we may make the same remarks as we made concerning the fore-legs.

[1] Εὐχιλότερον.] Εὔχιλος, *qui pabulo facilè nutritur.* Sturz, Lex. Xen. Pabuli appetens. *Weiske.*

[2] Πλατεῖς τε καὶ μὴ διεστραμμένους.] This is the reading proposed by Curerius, and adopted by Dindorf. The old copies have πλατείᾳ τῇ γραμμῇ διωρισμένους, of which no critic could make anything satisfactory. Sauppe reads, from a conjecture of Hermann's, πλατείᾳ τῇ τράμει διωρισμένους, "separated by a broad τράμις," which means the line dividing the scrotum, and extending up to the anus.

[3] Γοργοτέραν.] "Quick" is the signification given by Hesychius to γοργός, in reference to horses.

[4] Ὑπόβασιν.] I suppose this word to mean *status,* "standing," which will be firmer when the legs are well apart. *Weiske.* "Will carry his rider with more strength and *swiftness.*" *Berenger.* Sauppe thinks that it means *subsessio,* the sinking down of a horse when his rider mounts him, referring to c. 16, sect. 6; but this acceptation does not suit well with either of the preceding adjectives.

[5] Καὶ ἅπαντα βελτίων ἔσται ἑαυτοῦ.] So these words stand in Dindorf's text. In other texts they vary greatly. Weiske, not unreasonably, supposes that they are altogether corrupt, and have usurped the place of something relating to the fore-legs, and suitable to what is said afterwards respecting a man.

16. I wish also to show by what means a person will be least likely to be deceived in regard to the probable *size;* for any colt that has very long legs when it is foaled will become a very large horse, since in all quadrupeds the shank-bones do not grow much as time advances, but the rest of the body, that it may be symmetrical, grows in proportion to them.

17. Those who judge in this way of the shape of a colt seem to us most likely to get a horse that has good feet, and is strong, fleshy, and of a good figure and size. Even though some horses change as they grow up, yet we may still have sufficient confidence in these observations to form a judgment; for far more horses, from being ill-shaped, become well proportioned, than grow deformed after having once been well-shaped.

CHAPTER II.

Of breaking and training colts.

1. How we must break colts, it does not appear to me that I need give any account;[1] for though it is people that are well provided with means in communities, and that have no small share in the commonwealth, who are required[2] to serve in the cavalry, yet it is much better for a young man to study to improve his bodily strength, and to attain a knowledge of horsemanship, or, if he is already a proficient in it, to exercise himself in riding, than to be a breaker of colts; and for a man in years it is better that he should attend to his family and friends, or to civil and military occupations, than employ himself in training horses.

2. He assuredly who knows as much as myself respecting the management of colts will give his colt out to be broken.[3]

[1] Dindorf follows Curerius in reading *μὴ γραπτέον*. Preceding editions are without the negative.

[2] As will be seen in the following treatise on the duties of a cavalry officer.

[3] It is to be inferred from this expression, that in our author's time, if not long before, there were certain persons who professed to break colts, and were public riding-masters; which proves that the art was much considered and cultivated in Greece, even in those early ages. *Berenger.*

But he ought to write down, when he gives him out, as he does when he puts out a youth to learn any art, in what points the trainer is to send him back instructed; for this will be an intimation to the trainer to what particulars he must attend, if he wishes to receive his pay.

3. We should however take care that the colt be delivered to the breaker gentle, tractable, and submissive to man; for such a disposition may generally be produced in him by the groom at home, if he knows how to manage so that hunger, and thirst, and uneasiness may be felt by the colt when alone, and that food, and drink, and relief from uneasiness may come to him from man; for, if things are thus ordered, men must not only be liked, but longed for, by the colts.

4. We ought also to handle such parts as a horse most likes to be stroked; and these are the parts which are most hairy, and in which the horse, if anything makes him uneasy, is least able to afford himself relief.

5. Let orders be given to the groom, too, to lead him through crowds of people, and to make him approach all kinds of objects and sounds; and of whichever of these the colt is afraid, we must teach him, not with harshness, but with gentleness, that they are by no means objects of fear. Such are the points, in respect to the breaking of colts, to which it appears to me sufficient to admonish a private individual [1] to attend.

CHAPTER III.

How to judge of a horse for riding.

1. WHEN a person would buy a horse that has been already ridden, we shall subjoin some admonitions which he ought to bear in mind, if he would not be cheated in his purchase. In the first place, then, let it not escape his notice what the *age* is; for a horse that has no longer the marks in his teeth neither delights the buyer with hope, nor is so easy to be exchanged.

2. When his youth is ascertained, it must also be noticed

[1] Τῷ ἰδιώτῃ.] That is, one who is not a professed colt-breaker.

how he takes the bit into his mouth, and the head-piece over his ears; and this cannot fail to be observed, if the bridle is put on in sight of the purchaser, and taken off in his sight.

3. It is also necessary to see how he takes the rider on his back; for many horses reluctantly receive on them anything which it is plain to them that they cannot receive without being compelled to work. 4. It must likewise be observed whether, when he is mounted, he wishes to separate himself from other horses, or whether, if he is ridden near horses standing by, he carries off his rider towards them. There are some horses too, that, from bad training, run off from the places of exercise to their stalls[1] at home.

5. As for horses whose jaws are not alike,[2] that sort of riding which is called the *pede*[3] exposes them, and, still more, a change in the direction in which they are ridden;[4] for many horses will not attempt to run away with their riders, unless a hard jaw, and their course directed homewards, concur to stimulate them. We ought to ascertain, also, whether the horse, being put to his speed, is readily pulled up, and whether he submits to be turned about.

6. It is good for a purchaser not to be ignorant, moreover, whether a horse is equally willing to obey when he is roused with a blow; for a servant and an army, if disobedient, are useless, but a disobedient horse is not only useless, but often plays the traitor.

7. But when we take upon ourselves to purchase a war-horse, we must make trial of him in all things in which war will make trial of him; and these are, leaping across ditches, springing over walls, jumping on to mounds, and jumping down from them; and we must try him in riding up and down

[1] Ἀφόδους.] Ἄφοδος, says Sturz, is the same as ἀναχώρησις, a retreat, a place of retirement.

[2] Τοὺς ἑτερογνάθους.] See note on c. 1, sect. 9.

[3] Πέδη.] Pollux, i. 214, says that πέδη is ἱππασία ἡ κυκλοτερής, exercise or riding in a circle, and that the ἐπιμήκης πέδη is that which fixes the size of the circle, apparently a rope or tether. The exercise meant, therefore, says Schneider, is the same as the Latin *gyrus* or *gyratio*. Other critics have been much perplexed about the meaning of the word; but this seems to be the true interpretation. It is approved, says Sauppe, by Hermann, in his Opusc. tom. i. p. 63—80. Yet the *pede* was not always of a circular form. See c. 7, sect. 13.

[4] Turning them sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left. This has no reference to the πέδη.

steep places, and along them; for all such efforts show his spirit, whether it is bold, and whether his body is sound. 8. Yet we must not at once reject a horse that does not accomplish all these feats perfectly; for many fail, not from being unable, but from want of training; and if they are taught, and used, and exercised in such performances, they will execute them all well, provided they are sound in other respects, and not wanting in spirit.

9. We must however be cautious of having anything to do with horses that are naturally shy; for horses that are excessively timorous will not only not allow the rider on their back to harm the enemy, but will often take him by surprise,[1] and expose him to great danger. 10. We must also learn whether the horse has anything of vice either towards other horses, or towards men, and whether he is averse to being handled; for all such defects are troublesome to his owner.

11. As to any reluctance to being bridled and mounted, and other tricks,[2] a person will much sooner discover them, if, when the horse has been thoroughly exercised, he attempt to do to him[3] what he did before he began to ride him; since horses that, after having been exercised, are ready to submit to exercise again, give sufficient proofs of a mettlesome spirit.

12. To sum up all in a few words, whatever horse has good feet, is mild-tempered, sufficiently swift, is willing and able to endure fatigue, and is in the highest degree obedient, will probably give least trouble to his rider, and contribute most to his safety in military occupations. But horses that from sluggishness require a great deal of driving, or, from excess of mettle, much coaxing and care, afford plenty of employment to the rider, as well as much apprehension in time of danger.

[1] Ἐσφηλαν.] Sturz, in his Lexicon, makes this equivalent to *exeusserunt*; but it is doubtful whether the word signifies so much. Leunclavius renders the passage, *Sæpenumero etiam in gravissima pericula conjecto sessori detrimentum attulerunt.* Gail gives, "Bien souvent il surprend son cavalier, et lui cause des fâcheux accidens."

[2] Δινεύματα.] "Twistings or turnings about." This is the reading adopted by Dindorf and Sauppe. The old reading was δὴ νεύματα, "turnings of the head," instead of which Weiske proposed ἀνανεύματα or ἐκνεύματα: Zeune, δυσνεύματα, contrary, as Weiske remarks, to analogy, there being no verb δυσνεύειν.

[3] That is, to bridle and mount him.

CHAPTER IV.

Attention necessary to be paid to a horse by its owner.

1. WHEN a man has purchased a horse that he admires, and taken him home, it is proper that his stable should be in some part of the premises where the master may see him most frequently; and it will be right for him to construct the stall in such a way that it may no more be possible for the horse's food to be stolen from the manger than the master's from his cellar. He that is neglectful of such precaution appears to me to be neglectful of himself; for it is evident that in danger the master trusts his personal safety to his horse.

2. A secure manger is not only serviceable to prevent the food from being stolen, but to let it be seen when the horse scatters his food out of the manger;[1] and if a person perceives that such is the case, he may be sure, either that the horse, having too much blood in his body, requires veterinary attention, or that, from fatigue having affected him, he needs rest, or that indigestion[2] or some other malady is coming upon him; and it is with horses as with men, that all diseases are more easily cured at the commencement than after they have acquired strength, and mistakes have been made in the treatment of them.

3. As attention must be paid to a horse's food and exercise, that his body may be vigorous, so must care be likewise taken of his feet. Damp and smooth stable floors injure even naturally good hoofs; and to prevent them from being damp, they ought to be sloping; to prevent them from being

[1] *Ἐκκομίζῃ.*] Sc. *ἐκ τῆς φάτνης.* As a horse will do when he dislikes his food, or is surfeited. *Zeune.* It is an "error," observes Berenger, "to keep the rack perpetually crammed with hay, which the horse being obliged to smell continually, is brought to nauseate and loathe it. A certain portion should be given at a time, of which, if the animal leaves any part, it ought to be removed, that by having wanted food for a certain time, his appetite may call for it; he will then relish what he eats, and thrive better upon a small quantity thus dealt out, than on a much larger improperly given."

[2] *Κριθίασις.*] When the barley passes through the horse whole. *Schneider.* Barley was in ancient times the usual food of horses. *Weiske.*

smooth, they should have stones inserted in the ground[1] close to one another, similar to a horse's hoofs in size; for such stable floors give firmness to the feet of horses that stand on them.

4. The groom must also lead the horse out of the stable to the place where he is to comb him; and he should be tied away from the manger after his morning's feed, that he may come to his evening meal with the greater appetite. The ground outside the stable may be put into excellent condition, and serve to strengthen the horse's feet,[2] if a person throws down in it here and there four or five loads of round stones, large enough to fill the two hands, and about a pound in weight, surrounding them with an iron rim, so that they may not be scattered; for, as the horse stands on these, he will be in much the same condition as if he were to travel part of every day on a stony road.[3]

5. A horse must also move his hoofs when he is rubbed down, or when he is annoyed with flies,[4] as much as when he is walking; and the stones which are thus spread about strengthen the frogs of the feet. And as we must take care of the hoofs, that they may be hard, so we must take care of the mouth, that it may be soft; and the same treatment softens the flesh of a man and the mouth of a horse.[5]

[1] That is, they should be paved with stones about the size of a horse's hoof.

[2] Our method of keeping a large quantity of litter and dung under the horse's feet is wrong and injudicious. The litter, mixed with dung, heats the feet and legs, and makes the hoofs become dry and brittle. Besides this, the horse is not so much tempted to lie down at night, as he would be if it were removed, and spread under him again at proper seasons. *Berenger.*

[3] The ancients did not shoe their horses, or nail upon their hoofs anything similar to our horse-shoes. At times, to prevent their hoofs from suffering on rough ground, they put over the feet a kind of sandal or boot made of reeds or leather. The Japanese use something of the kind at the present day, made of straw, and requiring, of course, to be often changed. The earliest mention of a shoe, according to Berenger, is that of Childeric, who lived A. D. 481; of which the figure is preserved in Montfaucon's Antiquities, and which resembled the shoes in use among us.

[4] Μυωπιζόμενον.] As μύωψ signifies both a *spur* and a *fly*, the commentators have been in doubt what sense they should give to this word; but Zeune and Schneider concur in taking it in the sense in which I have translated it. They take it also in the same sense in Hipp. c. 1, sect. 6.

[5] Schneider cites a passage from Pollux, in which washing with warm water, and rubbing with oil, are recommended for softening the mouth.

CHAPTER V.

Qualifications and duties of a groom.

1. IT seems to us to be the duty of a man who keeps horses to see that his groom be instructed[1] as to what he ought to do about a horse. In the first place, he should know that the knot of the halter which ties the horse to the manger should never be made in the same place where the head-piece[2] is put round; for as the horse often rubs his head against the manger, the halter, if it be not easy around his ears, will frequently cause sore places; and, in consequence of such sores, the horse must necessarily prove less tractable under the operations of bridling and rubbing.

2. It is right, also, that the groom should be ordered to carry out the dung and straw from the horse every day, to some one particular place;[3] for, by so doing, he will get rid of it with the greatest ease, and at the same time do a service to the horse.

3. The groom must likewise know that he should put the muzzle[4] on the horse when he takes him out, whether to be rubbed down or for exercise; and[5] at all times, indeed, whenever he takes him out without a bit, he should muzzle him; for the muzzle does not hinder him from breathing, though it prevents him from biting; and, when it is on, it makes them feel less inclined to play vicious tricks.[6]

Berenger supposes that nothing more is meant than that we should "do nothing to injure or hurt the mouth, so as to make it insensible or callous, and then it will naturally be soft and tender."

[1] Πεπαιδεῦσθαι.] Weiske takes this in a middle sense: *Ut sibi instituendum curaret.*

[2] Ἡ κορυφαία.] *Pars habenæ, summum equi caput cingens.* Sturz, Lex. Xen. Something similar to our *head-stall.*

[3] To some convenient place for depositing it in a heap, that it may not be scattered about.

[4] This seems to have been a practice among the ancients. Pollux mentions it, I. 202, where it is said that the κημὸς or muzzle, while it prevents the horse from biting, is no obstruction to his breathing.

[5] Ἐπὶ κυλίστραν.] Literally, to "the rolling-place." There are frequent allusions in the ancient writers to taking out horses to roll themselves. See Œcon. c. 11, sect. 18; Aristoph. Nub. 32.

[6] Ἐπιβουλεύειν.] *Aliis equis insidiari.* Brodæus. But it seems to

4. It is proper to tie up a horse with the halter above his head; for whatever annoys a horse about the face, he naturally tries to get rid of by throwing up his head; and when he is thus tied, he rather, as he throws up his head, loosens his halter than tightens it.[1]

5. When the groom rubs down the horse, he should begin with the head and the mane; for if the upper parts are not clean, it is useless to clean those below; and then, with all sorts of cleansing instruments, he should raise the hair over the rest of the body, and brush away the dust in the contrary direction to that in which the hair grows; but the hair on the back he ought to touch with no instrument at all, but to rub and smooth it down gently with the hand the way that it naturally lies, for thus he will do less injury to the seat of the horse.

6. The head he should wash with water; for, being bony, if it were cleaned with anything made of iron or wood,[2] it would pain the horse. The forelock he should also moisten;[3] for while these hairs, though of a good length, do not prevent the horse from seeing, they brush away from his eyes whatever annoys them; and we may suppose that the gods gave these hairs to the horse instead of the long ears which they have given to asses and mules, to be a protection to the eyes. 7. The tail and the mane it is also proper to wash, since we should encourage the growth of this hair; that of the tail, in order that the horse, stretching it out as far as possible, may brush off whatever molests him;[4] and that of the neck, that,

signify the playing of any tricks, or doing any mischief, whether to other horses or to men.

[1] By such a mode of tying, the horse will not be irritated, and the halter will not easily be broken. *Weiske.*

[2] This implies that the Greeks used instruments for the purpose of cleaning their horses, as we do curry-combs; and perhaps the moderns are indebted to them for these utensils. *Berenger.*

[3] To make it grow. Comp. sect. 7.

[4] These observations are so true and just, that one would almost think it needless to dwell upon them; yet such is the cruelty and absurdity of our notions and customs in cropping, as it is called, the ears of our horses, and docking and nicking their tails, that we every day fly in the face of reason, nature, and humanity. Nor are the present race of men in this island alone to be charged with this folly, almost unbecoming the ignorance and cruelty of savages; but their forefathers, several centuries ago, were charged and reprehended by a public canon for this absurd and barbarous practice. See Spelman's Councils of England, vol. i. p. 293.

being abundant, it may afford an ample grasp to the person mounting.

8. The mane, fore-lock, and tail have been given by the gods as additions to the beauty of a horse; and a proof of this is, that mares kept for breeding do not so readily admit asses to cover them, as long as their hair is of its natural length; and in consequence, all those who breed mules cut off the hair of the mares to prepare them for being covered.[1]

9. Washing of the legs we omit; for it is of no use, and the daily wetting does harm to the hoofs. It is proper, also, to moderate the excessive cleaning under the belly; for it is the most troublesome of all cleaning to the horse; and the cleaner those parts are made, the more annoyances[2] they attract under the belly. 10. Besides, if a groom takes ever so much pains with those parts, the horse is no sooner taken out, than he is exactly in the same condition as horses that have not been cleaned. These things it is therefore well to let alone; and in regard to the legs, too, such rubbing of them as can be performed with the hands is sufficient.

CHAPTER VI.

How a horse is to be treated.

1. We shall now show how a man may groom a horse with least danger to himself, and most benefit to the animal. If,

God never made his work for man to mend.—*Dryden.*

It is thought by some that the cutting of the tail diminishes the swiftness of the horse; it certainly does in greyhounds, * * especially in turning. *Berenger.*

[1] This is a strange assertion to come from the pen of so grave and exact a writer as Xenophon. The reader is left to form what opinion he pleases of it; many other authors likewise mention this peculiarity, which tends only to make the account more strange. *Berenger.* Pollux, I. 217, gives a similar account from Simo, adding that the mares thus shorn, seeing their deformity in the mirror of the water, feel themselves degraded, and no longer repel the advances of the asses.

[2] Troublesome insects appear to be meant. *Sauppe.*

when he cleans him, he looks the same way as the horse,[1] there is danger that he may be struck in the face with his knee or his hoof. 2. But if he looks in the opposite direction to the horse when he cleans him, keeping himself[2] out of the reach of his leg, and rubs gradually down by the shoulder, he will thus receive no injury, and may clean the frog of the horse's foot by turning up the hoof. In like manner let him clean the hind legs.

3. But whoever is employed about a horse, ought to know that to do these things, and everything else that he has to do, he must come as little as possible near the face and the tail; for if a horse is inclined to be vicious, he has in both these parts the advantage of the man. But a person who approaches him at the side may manage the horse with least danger to himself, and with most power over the beast.[3]

4. When we have to lead a horse, we do not approve of the practice of leading from behind, for these reasons, that the person leading the horse is thus least able to keep on his guard against him, and the horse has most liberty to do what he pleases. 5. To the mode, again, of conducting him with a long rein, to teach him to go forward and take the lead, we object for the following reasons, that the horse can do mischief on whichever side he pleases, and that, by turning himself round,[4] he can set himself opposite his leader. 6. When there are a number of horses together, too, how, if they are thus led, can they be prevented from annoying one another? But a horse that is accustomed to be led at the side, will be least in a condition to molest either other horses or men, and will be readiest at hand for his rider whenever he may require to mount in haste.

[1] That is, while he is cleaning the fore-feet. *Schneider.*

[2] Καθίζων.] Schneider suspects this word to be corrupt; but κατιών, which he proposes to substitute for it, is not very satisfactory. "If he places himself out of the reach of his foot." *Berenger.* "En se tenant du côté de l'épaule." *Gail.*

[3] The words of the text, in this passage, have been understood very differently by Leunclavius and Schneider. Schneider interprets thus: Τὸ δ' αὖ [ἄγειν] ἔμπροσθεν μακρῷ ἀγωγεῖ προϊοντα (agreeing with τὸν ἵππον) διδάσκειν ὑφηγεῖσθαι (in the sense of *præire*) τὸν ἵππον. Leunclavius referred προϊόντα to the groom, and rendered ὑφηγεῖσθαι by "subsequi," a sense which that verb will not bear; and I have therefore followed Schneider.

[4] Whether with his face or tail towards his leader.

7. That the groom may put on the bridle properly, let him first approach the horse on the left side, and then throwing the reins over the horse's head, let him suffer them to rest on the point of the shoulder; and next let him take the head-piece in his right hand, and apply the bit with his left. 8. If the horse take the bit into his mouth, the man has nothing to do but put on the head-piece; but if the horse will not open his mouth, the man must hold the bit to his teeth, and insert the middle finger of his left hand between the horse's bars; for most horses, when this is done, open their mouths; should the horse, however, not even then receive the bit, let him press the lip against the dog-tooth or tusk, and there are very few horses that, on feeling this, will not admit it.

9. Let the groom also be instructed in the following points. First, never to lead the horse by the bridle, for this practice makes horses harder on one side of the mouth than on the other; and, next, to keep the bit from pressing on his jaws as much as possible; for if the bit rubs on them too much, it renders the mouth callous, so that it loses all feeling; though, on the other hand, if it is allowed to fall down too much towards the front of the mouth, it gives the horse an opportunity of seizing the bit between his teeth, and refusing to obey it. 10. It is proper, however, that a horse should not be irritated by these matters when he has work to do; for so important is it that a horse should take the bit readily, that one who does not take it is altogether useless. 11. But if he is accustomed to be bitted, not only when he is going to work, but when he is taken to his food, and when he is brought home to his stable after being ridden, it will not be at all surprising if he seize the bit of his own accord when it is held towards him.

12. It is well, too, that the groom should know how to assist a rider to mount after the Persian manner,[1] that the master

[1] Berenger observes that as stirrups were unknown in the days of Xenophon, the methods of getting on horseback must have been to *vault*, to step on a *horse-block*, or to mount after the *Persian manner*, which was to set the foot on the back of a slave, who attended and bent himself for that purpose. The slave who was subjected to this office was called by the Greeks ἀναβολεύς, Appian. Punic. 106; and by the Latins *strator*, Ammian. Marcell. xxix. 3. It was thus that Sapor degraded the conquered emperor, Valerian.

himself, if he should be sick or advanced in years, may have some one that can mount him easily, or may lend his servant to a friend to mount him, if he wish to afford such assistance to any one.

13. But never to *approach a horse in a fit of anger* is the one great precept and maxim of conduct in regard to the treatment of a horse; for anger is destitute of forethought, and consequently often does that of which the agent must necessarily repent.

14. When a horse is shy of any object, and reluctant to approach it, the rider must try to make him feel[1] that there is nothing terrible in it, especially to a horse of spirit; but if he cannot succeed, the rider must himself touch that which appears so alarming, and lead the horse up gently to it. 15. As to those who force horses forward with blows in such a case, they only inspire them with greater terror; for they imagine, when they suffer any pain at such a time, that what they look upon with alarm is in some way the cause of it.

16. When the groom brings the horse to the rider, we have no objection that he should know how to make the horse stoop,[2] so that it may be easy to mount him; yet we think every rider ought to take care to be able to mount, even if the horse does not bend to him; for sometimes a different horse will present himself, and the same horse will not always be equally obedient.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the proper mode of mounting and riding a horse. Of exercising a horse.

1. We shall now show how a rider must act, when he has received his horse for the purpose of mounting him, so

[1] By speaking cheerfully to him, patting him, and giving him other signs of encouragement. "Leniter videlicet impellendo equo, ut accedat, et admoto sensu suavi." *Weiske.*

[2] Ὑποκιθάζεσθαι.] *Se submittere cruribus divaricatis aut genibus flexis.* Weiske. So Pollux, i. 213. Hence Schneider and others

as to be of most service alike to himself and to his horse in riding.

In the first place, then, he must take the rein,[1] which is fastened to the lower part of the bit,[2] or to the chain that goes under the chin,[3] in his left hand, in a convenient manner, and so loosely, that he may not, either as he raises himself by grasping the mane near the ears, or jumps on the horse's back with the assistance of his spear,[4] pull the animal back. Then, with his right hand, let him take hold of the bridle[5] at the point of the shoulder, and of the mane at the same time, that he may not in any way, as he mounts, twist the horse's mouth with the bit. 2. When he has set himself at ease for mounting, let him draw up his body with his left hand, and, stretching forth his right, let him lift himself with that also (for, mounting in this way, he will not present an ungraceful appearance behind), and let him do this with his leg bent, and not rest his knees on the back of the horse, but throw his leg across at once to the right side; and when he has passed his foot clean over, let him then seat himself on the horse's back.

think that ὑπόβασις, c. 1, sect. 14, means *subsessio*, but this interpretation seems not adapted for that passage. Horses, it appears, were sometimes thus taught to stoop. Silius Italicus, x. 465, says of the horse of Clœlius,

Inclinatus collum, submissus et armos
De more, implexis præbebat scandere terga
Cruribus.

[1] Τὸν ῥυταγωγέα.

[2] Τῆς ὑποχαλινιδίας.] *Inferioris freni partis.* Sturz, Lex. Xen.

[3] Τοῦ ψαλίου.] The ψάλιον, or ψέλλιον, says Pollux, i. 248, was τὸ περὶ τὸ γένειον διῤῥημένον.

[4] This manner of getting on horseback from the lance or spear has, till lately, puzzled all the antiquaries and commentators, who have not been able to give any satisfactory account of it. In the collection of the *Pates Antiques*, belonging to the late celebrated Baron Stock, there is one which represents a soldier as going to mount his horse by the assistance of his spear. The spear is planted at the side of the horse, and has a hook upon the shaft, on which the man placing his foot easily bestrides the horse. This, at first sight, explains the above passage. Livy mentions likewise this method of getting on horseback as practised by the Roman soldiers. N. B. This collection is now in the British Museum. *Bercnger.*

[5] Τὰς ἡνίας.] Different from the ῥυταγωγεὺς mentioned just above, which the rider is to take in his left hand as he mounts. But we know too little of ancient horsemanship to be able to explain how each was managed.

3. It seems to us also very proper, in case a rider should happen to be leading his horse with his left hand, and to be holding his lance in his right, to practise mounting on the right side ;[1] but for this he has nothing more to learn, than to perform those movements with his left hand and foot which he had previously performed with his right. 4. We commend such readiness in mounting for this reason, that the rider, as soon as he is seated on the horse, is in every way prepared for action, if it should be necessary to encounter an enemy on a sudden.

5. When he has taken his seat, whether on the horse's bare back or on the cloth,[2] we do not like that he should sit as if he were on a carriage seat, but as if he were standing upright with his legs somewhat apart ;[3] for thus he will cling more firmly to the horse with his thighs, and, keeping himself erect, he will be able to throw a javelin or to strike a blow on horseback, if it be necessary, with greater force.

6. But it is necessary to allow the leg, as well as the foot, to hang loose from the knee ; for if a rider keep his leg stiff, and strike it against anything, it may be broken ; but if the leg hangs easy, and anything strikes against it, it will yield, and yet not move the thigh from its position.

7. A rider should also accustom himself to keep the parts of his body above the hips as flexible as possible ; for he will by this means be better able to exert himself, and if any person should drag or push him, he will be less likely to be thrown off.

8. Let it be observed, too, that when he is seated on the horse's back, he must first teach the horse to stand quiet, until he has drawn up his mantle,[4] if necessary, and adjusted the reins, and taken hold of his lance in such a way as it may most conveniently be carried. Then let him keep his left arm

[1] Another gem, in the same collection, gives us the figure of a soldier standing by a horse in the attitude of a man going to mount him on the *right* side; and there are many other ancient impressions which show the same thing. *Berenger.*

[2] *Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐφιππίου.*] It is to be remembered that the Greeks, instead of saddles, used cloths or housings, and the lower sort often rode without any. *Berenger.*

[3] That is, not as he would sit in a chair, but upon his twist or fork. *Berenger.*

[4] *Ὑποσπάσηται.*] *Dum vestem subduxerit sive composuerit.* Weiske.

close to his side; for in such an attitude a rider appears most graceful,[1] and his hand has the greatest power.

9. As to reins, we approve of such as are equally balanced, and not weak, or slippery, or too thick, so that the hand which holds them may be able also to hold the spear when it is necessary.

10. When the rider gives the signal to the horse to start, let him begin to advance at a walking pace, as this pace is least likely to disturb the horse. Let him hold the reins, if the horse is inclined to hold down his head, rather high; but if he is more disposed to carry it erect, let him keep them lower, for thus he will best set off the horse's figure. 11. After a little, if he trots at his natural pace,[2] he will find his limbs become pliant without inconvenience, and will come with the greatest readiness to obey the whip.[3] Since, too, it

[1] Εὐσταλέστατος.] *Hic enim gestus equitem maximè decet.* Leunclavius.

[2] Αὐτοφυῆ.] Sc. δρομον. *Weiske.*

[3] Εἰς τὸ ἐπιραβδοφορεῖν ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀφικνοῖτο.] Ἐπιραβδοφορεῖν τὸν ἵππον, says Pollux, i. 220, is εἴ τις εἰς δρόμον εἰσελαύνοι, "when the rider animates the horse to speed with his whip or switch." Kuhn renders the words *virgâ manibus prælatâ equo ad cursum signum dare.* In like manner Sophocles has used the verb ἐπισείειν. *Sauppe.* Sturz interprets the word, in his Lexicon, *virgâ instigare ad cursum.* But it must be taken in a neuter sense in this passage. "Obéir aux avertissements de la verge." *Gail.* "To be exerted and animated with the whip." *Berenger.* Donaldson, in his "New Cratylus," p. 224, says that ἐπιραβδοφορεῖν is "to gallop," that is, to strike the ground alternately with the fore and hind feet, from "the primary idea in ῥάβδος," which is that of "beating" or "striking." The word may imply galloping, and there is little doubt that it does, but hardly for the reason which Dr. Donaldson gives; for, in that case, what would be the use of φορεῖν in the word? The primary and proper meaning of a verb, compounded of the three elements in ἐπιραβδοφορεῖν would seem to be, when used in a neuter sense, "to endure the switch so as to hasten forward." The horses of some of the ancient nations were guided wholly by the rod or switch, without bit or bridle. Thus the Massylians are described in Lucan, iv. 682,

> Et gens, quæ nudo residens Massylia dorso,
> Ora levi flectit, frænorum nescia, virgâ.
> ———Massylia's nimble horsemen ride;
> They nor the bit, nor curbing rein provide,
> But with light rods the well-taught coursers guide. *Rowe.*

Strabo speaks of their horsemanship in similar terms, xvii. 3. So Silius Italicus, i. 215:

> Nomades, gens inscia fræni;
> Queis inter geminas per ludum mobilis aurœs
> Quadrupedem flectit non cedens virga lupatis.

is the most approved practice to set off towards the left side, the horse will most readily start on that side,[1] if, when he lifts, as he is trotting, his right foot,[2] the rider then give him the signal to gallop. 12. For, being then about to raise the left foot, he will thus start with that foot; and just at the moment that the rider turns him to the left, he will make the first spring[3] in his gallop; for a horse, when he is turned to the right, naturally leads off with the right foot, and when turned to the left, with the left foot.

13. As to the mode of exercising a horse, we approve of that which is called the *pede*,[4] for it accustoms a horse to be turned by both sides of his mouth; and it is good to change the direction of his course, that both sides may receive equal stress in the different directions. 14. We approve, too, of a place of exercise of an oblong form,[5] in preference to the round; for in the oblong the horse may be turned with the greater ease, when tired of going straight forward, and he will be exercised at once in running in a direct course and in turning.

15. It is proper also to pull in the rein[6] as the horse turns;

"The Nomades or Numidians, a nation ignorant of the rein, and whose horses the wand waved sportively over their ears directs with not less effect than the bit." We may accordingly suppose that by the Greeks the signal to gallop was given with the rod or switch.

[1] The meaning of this seems to be, that when the rider intends to go to the *left*, he should first turn a little to the *right*, in order to take a compass, and turn the horse to the left with more freedom and grace. *Berenger.*

[2] "Οπoτε ἀναβαίνοι τῷ δεξιῷ.] *Cùm dextrum pedem anteriorem equus tollit.* Ἀναβαίνειν τῷ δεξιῷ is the same as αἴρειν τὸν δεξιόν. *Weiske.* Sauppe reads ἐμβαίνοι, a conjecture of Hermann's.

[3] Τῆς ἐπισκελίσεως ἂν ἄρχοιτο.] Xenophon calls the beginning of the movement of the feet ἐπισκέλησις. Pollux, i. 214. Dindorf and others write ἐπισκέλισις. With ἄρχοιτο, says Sauppe, understand ἐπιραβδοφορῶν.

[4] See note on c. 3, sect. 5.

[5] Τὴ ἑτερομήκη πίδην.] *Pedicam alterâ parte longiorem, potius quàm rotundam.* Leunclavius. But in what sense he used the word *pedicam* is not apparent. Liddell and Scott, in their Lexicon, say that an oblong place of exercise is meant, and this acceptation agrees very well with the proper signification of the word ἑτερομήκης, and with the sequel of the passage. A ἑτερομήκης number is one that is produced by the multiplication of two unequal factors, and is opposed to ἰσόπλευρος. Plato, Theæt. c. xiv.

[6] "To pull the horse in and support him." *Berenger.*

for it is not easy for a horse, nor safe, when going fast, to turn in a small space,[1] especially if the ground be rough[2] or slippery. 16. But at the time that the rider pulls him in, he ought to sway the horse as little as possible with the bit, and to sway himself also as little as possible; for if he sways himself much, he may be well assured that a very small impulse will be sufficient to stretch both him and his horse on the ground.

17. When the horse, after having turned, looks straight before him, the rider should then excite him to greater speed;[3] for it is plain that turnings are made in war either for pursuing or retreating, and hence it is good to accustom a horse, after he has turned, to increase his speed.

18. Also, when the horse appears to have been sufficiently exercised, it is useful, after having let him rest a while, to excite him on a sudden to his utmost speed, as well away from the other horses as towards them; and, after he has been put to his speed, to let him rest somewhere as near as possible,[4] and, when he has stood still awhile, to wheel him about and urge him again to a gallop; for it is certain that occasions will offer when he will have need to practise both.

19. But when it is time to dismount, the rider should never alight either among other horses, or amidst a concourse of people, or beyond the exercise ground; but in the place where the horse is obliged to exert himself, there let him also begin to rest.

CHAPTER VIII.

How a horse is to be taught to leap. How he is to be prepared for military service.

1. SINCE there will be occasions when the horse will have to run up and down sloping and hilly grounds, and along the

[1] That is, to turn short.

[2] *Ἀπόκρουον.*] Generally interpreted "rough" or "rugged." Weiske thinks that it here means "steep," "sloping."

[3] This mode of working a horse is called by the French writers the *Envie d'aller*, and is most useful. *Berenger.*

[4] That is, as near as possible to the other horses. *Weiske.*

sides of hills, when he will have to leap over obstacles, and to spring up and down, the rider must train and exercise both himself and his horse completely in all these manœuvres; for thus they will be likely to contribute more to the safety and advantage of each other. 2. If any one thinks that we are merely repeating ourselves, because we now make mention of the same things that we mentioned before,[1] let him understand that this is not a repetition; for we then exhorted a horseman, when he purchased a horse, to try whether the animal could perform such exercises; but now we say that he must teach his own horse, and are going to prescribe how he must teach him.

3. He that has got a horse utterly inexperienced in leaping over ditches must, after slackening the leading-rein, go over the ditch first, and must then pull him on with the rein, that he may take the leap. 4. If he will not leap, another person must take a whip or a switch, and apply it on him smartly, when he will not only leap over the required space, but much further than is necessary; and afterwards there will be no need to strike him, for if he only sees some one coming behind him, he will leap.

5. When he has thus been trained to leap, let the rider mount him, and take him first to small, and then to larger ditches. Just as he is going to leap, let the rider touch him with the spur. Let him spur him, too, when he is teaching him to leap up and down from any height; for if the horse does all these things with an impulse[2] of his whole body, he will do them with more safety to himself and his rider than if his hinder parts lag either in leaping over an object or in springing up or down.

6. To make him go down steep places, we must begin to train him on soft ground; and at length, when he is accustomed to this, he will run much more readily down a slope than up it. As to what some people fear, that horses will dislocate their shoulders in being ridden down steep places, let them be under no apprehension, when they are told that the Persians and the Odrysæ all ride as fast as they can down steep hills, and yet have horses not less sound than those of the Greeks.

[1] C. iii. sect. 7.

[2] To which the spur will incite him.

7. Nor will we omit to mention how the rider must accommodate himself to each of these particular circumstances; for he ought, when his horse suddenly raises himself for a leap, to lean forward (since by that means the horse will feel less pressure on his hinder parts,[1] and will be less likely to shake the rider), and, as he pulls in the reins when the horse alights, he must throw himself back, for he will thus be less jolted.

8. As the horse is leaping over a ditch, or stretching up an ascent, it is well for the rider to take hold of the mane,[2] that the horse may not be oppressed by the difficulty of the ground and by the bit at the same time; but in going down a declivity, he should hold himself back, and support the horse with the bridle, that himself and his horse may not be carried headlong down the slope.

9. It is right, also, to exercise the horse sometimes in one place and sometimes in another, sometimes for a longer and sometimes for a shorter period; for this will be less disagreeable to the horse than to be always exercised in the same place and for the same length of time.

10. Since it is necessary, too, for him who rides his horse at full speed over all sorts of ground to be able to sit firmly on him, and to know how to use his arms on horseback dexterously, the practice of horsemanship in hunting is to be commended, where the country is favourable, and wild beasts to be found; but where these conveniences do not offer themselves, it is a good sort of exercise for two horsemen to make such an arrangement as this: that the one is to retreat over ground of a varied character, and, as he flees, is to turn about from time to time and present his spear, while the other is to pursue, carrying javelins blunted with balls, and a spear prepared in the same manner; and whenever the pursuer comes within a javelin's throw of the pursued, he is to discharge his blunted javelins at him, and, whenever he gets within the stroke of a spear, to strike him as he is overtaken.

[1] Ἧττον ἂν ὑποδύοι ὁ ἵππος.] The horse will sink down less behind. Ὑποδύειν is *dorso subsidere*, as Schneider observes.

[2] Whatever notions the Greeks might have of this method, and although it is prescribed by Xenophon, it seems to be flatly against truth and the principles of the art; for the bridle, instead of being an encumbrance to the horse, will be of great assistance, if seasonably and judiciously used, and, by guiding and supporting, will prevent him from falling. *Berenger.*

11. It is well for a horseman, also, if he close with an enemy, to pull his enemy towards him, and then suddenly push him away; for this treatment is likely to unhorse him. On the other hand, it is well for him who is thus dragged to urge his horse forward; for by this means he is more likely to throw off his antagonist than to fall off himself.

12. If, on any occasion, when two camps are pitched opposite, the cavalry ride out against one another, and one party pursue their adversaries close up to their main body, and then retreat to their own, it is good for a rider to know that in such circumstances, as long as he is near his friends, it is right and safe to wheel about among the foremost, and charge the enemy at full speed[1]; but he must take care, as he comes close upon them, to have his horse under control; for, by acting with such caution, he will be in the best condition, as is probable, to injure the enemy and to escape injury from them.

13. The gods have enabled men to teach other men by speech what they ought to do. As for a horse, it is certain that you can teach him nothing by speech; but if, when he does what you wish, you gratify him in some way in return, and, when he is disobedient, make him feel punishment, he will thus effectually learn to obey you in what is required of him. 14. This we may express, indeed, in a few words, but it should influence us throughout all our treatment of horses; for a horse will more readily take the bit, if, when he has taken it, something pleasant results to himself; and he will leap across ditches, and jump over obstacles, and comply with our wishes in all other respects, if he looks forward, when he has done what is required of him, to some indulgence.

[1] As they wheel round, it will be proper for him to be among the foremost to charge the enemy. It will be proper for him to be in the rear when his party is retreating, and to be consequently foremost when they turn about to make a charge.

CHAPTER IX.

How fierce and high-mettled horses are to be managed.

1. THE directions which I have given show how a person may best avoid being deceived in purchasing a colt or a full-grown horse; how he is least likely to spoil him in putting him to use, more especially if he would produce a horse having all the qualities that a horseman requires for war. But perhaps it is now proper to state how a rider, if he ever happen to have a horse excessively fiery, or excessively sluggish, may treat either of them with the most success.

2. In the first place, then, he ought to know that spirit in a horse is what anger is in a man; and as a person who should neither say nor do anything annoying to a man would be least likely to anger him, so the rider that does nothing to vex a high-spirited horse will be least likely to provoke him. 3. Accordingly he must be careful, even from the very time that he mounts such a horse, not to discompose him as he takes his seat; and when he is fairly seated, he should allow him to stand quiet for a longer time than a horse of ordinary spirit,[1] and then direct him to go forward with the gentlest possible intimations. Beginning to proceed, too, at the slowest pace, he should bring him into a quicker one, in such a manner, that the horse may be as little sensible as possible that he is accelerating his course. 4. But whatever a rider requires a spirited horse to do suddenly, the unexpected sights, or sounds, or sensations, consequent upon it, annoy him, as they would annoy a passionate man; and it is necessary to bear in mind that everything sudden produces perplexity in a horse. 5. If therefore you wish to rein in a spirited horse when he is going faster than is necessary, you must not check him suddenly, but pull him in with the bridle gently, coaxing, and not forcing him, to slacken his pace.

6. Long rides in a direct course, too, soothe horses more than frequent short turnings; and long gentle rides also soften and tame, and do not exasperate, the high-mettled horse.

[1] Ἢ τὸν ἐπιτυχόντα.] Than an ordinary or every-day horse, one of less spirit and fire. *Wciske.*

7. But if any one imagines that if he rides at a hard pace for a long distance, he will render his horse gentle by fatiguing him, he supposes what is quite contrary to experience; for a high-spirited horse, in such circumstances, uses his utmost endeavours to get the better by force and with anger, like an angry man, and often does irreparable mischief both to himself and to his rider.

8. It is proper also to check a high-mettled horse from galloping at full speed, and to abstain altogether from matching him with other horses; for horses that grow fond of contending against others become also the most refractory.

9. Smooth bits are more eligible for such a horse than rough. If a rough bit be used, we ought to assimilate it to a smooth one by keeping it slack.[1] It is well, too, for the rider to accustom himself to sit quiet on a fiery-spirited horse, and to touch him as little as possible with anything else[2] besides those parts of the body with which we necessarily touch him in order to sit secure.

10. A rider should know, also, that it is a rule to moderate a horse's pace with a sort of whistle, and to urge him forward with a clucking sound; yet that if a person should from the first move him to gentle exertions with a clucking sound, and to more difficult efforts with a whistle, he would learn to quicken his pace at the whistle, and to moderate it at the cluck.

11. Likewise, when a shout is raised, or a trumpet sounded, a person should not appear to a horse to be at all disturbed, or approach him with anything that may alarm him, but should, under such circumstances, use his utmost efforts to pacify him, and, if convenient, should bring him his morning or evening feed.

12. It is a very judicious piece of advice, too, not to purchase a very high-mettled horse for service in war. As to a sluggish horse, it appears to me sufficient to observe, that a rider must treat him in a manner quite contrary to that in which we recommend him to treat a horse of high spirit.

[1] This observation is most just. It is from the manner of managing them alone that bits are easy or severe to the mouth of the horse; otherwise, as the Duke of Newcastle says, the bit-makers would be the best horsemen. *Berenger.*

[2] We should not touch him, for instance, with the spear or javelin. *Sauppe.*

CHAPTER X.

Of the proper management of the bit and bridle.

1. But whoever would desire to have a horse serviceable for war, and at the same time of a stately and striking figure to ride, must abstain from pulling his mouth with the bit, and from spurring and whipping him; practices which some people adopt in the notion that they are setting their horses off; but they produce a quite contrary effect from that which they intend. 2. For by drawing the mouths of their horses up, they blind them when they ought to see clearly before them, and they frighten them so much by spurring and striking them, that they are confused and run headlong into danger; acts which distinguish such horses as are most averse to being ridden, and as conduct themselves improperly and unbecomingly. 3. But if a rider teach his horse to go with the bridle loose, to carry his neck high, and to arch it from the head onwards, he would thus lead him to do everything in which the animal himself takes pleasure and pride.

4. That he does take pleasure in such actions, we see sufficient proof; for whenever he approaches other horses, and especially when he comes to mares, he rears his neck aloft, bends his head gallantly, throws out his legs with nimbleness, and carries his tail erect. 5. When a rider, therefore, can prompt him to assume that figure which he himself assumes when he wishes to set off his beauty, he will thus exhibit his steed as taking pride in being ridden, and having a magnificent, noble, and distinguished appearance.

By what means we consider that such results may be attained, we will now endeavour to show. 6. First of all, then, it is necessary for a rider to have not less than two bits; and of these let one be smooth, and have rings of a moderate size;[1] and let the other have rings that are heavy, and hang lower down, with sharp points;[2] in order that, when the horse takes the latter into his mouth, he may be offended with its roughness, and consequently let it go, but when he finds it exchanged for the

[1] Julius Pollux (I. 184) mentions these orbs or rings; and our olive bits seem to resemble them. *Berenger.*

[2] Ἐχίνους, points like the prickles on the back of a hedge-hog.

other, he may be pleased with its smoothness; and that whatever he has been trained to do with the rough bit, he may do also with the smooth. 7. But if, from making light of it for its smoothness, he press upon it frequently with his teeth,[1] we in that case add large rings to the smooth bit, that, being compelled by them to open his mouth, he may let go the bit. But it is possible to vary the rough bit in every way, by relaxing or tightening it.

8. But whatever sorts of bits are used, let them all be yielding; for as to a stiff bit, wherever a horse seizes it, he has the whole of it fast between his teeth, as a person, when he takes up a spit, wherever he lays hold of it, raises up the whole. 9. But the other sort of bit is similar to a chain; for of whatever part of it a person takes hold, that part alone remains unbent, but the rest hangs down. But as the horse is always catching at the part which escapes him in his mouth, he drops the bit out of his jaws; and to remedy this inconvenience rings[2] are suspended by the middle from the two parts of the bit,[3] that while he catches at these with his tongue and his teeth, he may omit to seize the bit between his jaws.[4]

10. In case any one should be ignorant what flexibility, and rigidity, in a bit are, we will explain the terms; for a bit is flexible when the two parts of it have broad and smooth joints, so as to be easily bent; and everything that is applied about these two parts, if it fit loosely, and not with a close

[1] Ἀπερείδηται ἐν αὐτῷ.] The sense of the verb is doubtful. Zeune and Sturz take it in the signification which I have given it.

[2] We have a small chain in the upset, or hollow part of our bits, called a player, with which the horse playing with his tongue, and rolling it about, keeps his mouth moist and fresh. And, as Xenophon hints, it may serve likewise to fix his attention, and prevent him from writhing his mouth about, or, as the French call it, "faire ses forces." *Berenger.*

[3] Ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων.] Weiske agrees with Scheffer, de Re Militari, p. 161, that these ἄξονες were the two portions of which the bit was formed, being the same as στόμια, two στόμια forming one χαλινός. He supposes that they were called ἄξονες because the rings were suspended upon them. The words οἱ ἄξονες occur in the next section, where Gail renders them, "les deux branches."

[4] Ἀναλαμβάνειν πρὸς τὰς γνάθους τὸν χαλινόν.] "Prendre le mors aux dens." *Gail.* The words πρὸς τὰς γνάθους occur in the preceding section. I have given them in both places that sense which the drift of the passage seems to require.

grasp, conduces to flexibility; but if every part of the bit opens and closes with difficulty, it is to be called hard.

11. But whatever sort of bit is used, the rider must do everything with it in the manner which I have stated, if he wishes to make his horse such as has been described. 12. He must pull up the mouth of the horse neither too severely, so as to provoke him to shake himself free from it, nor too gently, so that he may be insensible to it. But when, on pulling him up, he raises his neck, the rider must immediately give him the bridle. In other respects, too, as we do not cease to repeat, he must, whenever the horse has acquitted himself well, show him some indulgence. 13. When he perceives that the horse is pleased with carrying his head aloft, and with the looseness of the rein, he should then put him to nothing disagreeable, as if he would force him to exert himself, but should coax him, as if he wished him to be at ease; for thus he will feel greatly encouraged, and will advance of his own accord at a swift pace.

14. That a horse delights in going fast, there is sufficient proof; for no horse, on getting loose, goes off at a slow pace, but runs. With this speed he is naturally delighted, provided we do not compel him to run longer than is reasonable; for nothing whatever, immoderately protracted, is agreeable to either horse or man.

15. When the horse was brought to perform his exercise with grace, he was trained by us,[1] we know, in the early part of his practice, to advance at full speed after sundry turns. But if any rider, when his horse has learned to do this, should rein him in, and give him at the same time a signal to hasten forward, the horse, being at once checked by the bridle, and incited to speed by the signal, will advance his chest, and lift his legs higher in anger, but not with ease; for horses, when they are annoyed, will assuredly not use their legs with greater agility and grace. 16. But if when he is thus animated, the rider gives him the bridle, he will then, from delight at supposing himself, on account of the looseness of the bit, freed from its restraint, bound forward with exultation, in a noble attitude, and with an easy motion of his limbs, and expressing in every gesture the grace with which he approaches

[1] In allusion to c. 7, sect. 17.

other horses. 17. Persons who view such a horse pronounce him noble-spirited, prompt for action, fit for military exercise, high-mettled, superb, and at once pleasing and formidable to contemplate.

If any one desires such qualities in a horse, let what we have so far written serve as instructions for him.

CHAPTER XI.

Of teaching a horse his paces. How to make him assume showy attitudes.

1. But if a person wishes to possess a horse that is fit for processions, and of lofty and magnificent bearing, such qualities are not to be found in every horse, for he must be one that is of a noble spirit and strong frame.

2. But what some suppose, that a horse which has suppleness of leg will also be able to rear his body high, is not the case; the truth rather is, that it must be a horse which has flexible, short, and strong loins (we do not mean the part by the tail, but that which is between the ribs and the haunches, at the belly), for such a horse will be able to extend his hinder legs far forward under him. 3. If a rider, then, when the horse has his hind legs thus under him, should pull him up with the bridle, he rests his hinder parts on his heels, and rears up the fore part of his body, so that his belly is seen by those in front of him. But when he does this, it is proper to give him the bridle, that he may assume of his own accord the attitudes most graceful in a horse, and appear to the spectators to do so.

4. There are people who teach horses thus to rise, some by striking them on the fetlocks with a stick, some by directing a man, who runs at the side for that purpose, to hit them on the upper part of the legs.[1] 5. We however consider it the best mode of instruction, as we are perpetually saying, that whenever a horse acts agreeably to the wishes of his rider, it should

[1] This method stands justified by the practice of modern horsemen. *Berenger.*

follow that he receive some indulgence from him. 6. For what a horse does under compulsion, as Simo also observes, he does without understanding, and with no more grace than a dancer would display if a person should whip and spur him during his performance; since both horse and man, when suffering such treatment, would exhibit more ungraceful than graceful gestures. But the rider ought to teach a horse by signs to assume of his own accord all his most beautiful and showy attitudes. 7. If, then, when he is exercised, he be ridden till he is quite in a perspiration, and the rider, as soon as he raises himself gracefully, dismounts and unbridles him, he may feel assured that the horse will always be ready to rear himself of his own accord.

8. It is upon horses of this kind that gods and heroes are painted riding, and men who are able to manage them skilfully are regarded as deserving of admiration. 9. So extremely beautiful, and admirable, and noble a sight is a horse that bears himself superbly, that he fixes the gaze of all who see him, both young and old; no one, indeed, leaves him, or is tired of contemplating him, as long as he continues to display his magnificent attitudes.[1]

10. If it should ever happen to the possessor of such a horse to be a phylarch[2] or hipparch,[2] he ought not to make it his study that he alone may enjoy distinction, but rather that all the cavalry under his command may be deserving of admiration. 11. Should such a horse precede the rest, [as people esteem such horses most,][3] one that, as he advances, rears himself very high and very frequently, it is plain that the other horses would follow him at a slow pace; but what striking attraction could there be in such a spectacle? 12. If, however, while you animate your steed, you lead neither with too great quickness nor with too great slowness, but just as horses appear most lively and formidable, and best adapted for exertion, if, I say, you precede the other horses in this manner, the march of the whole troop will be uniform, and even the very neighing and snorting of the horses will be

[1] This attitude is known to modern horsemen by the term *pesade*. *Beronger*.

[2] Commanders of cavalry.

[3] Schneider supposes the words in brackets to be a gloss that has crept into the text.

in concert, so that not only the commander himself, but the whole troop, will present an admirable spectacle.

13. If a person be fortunate in purchasing horses, and bring them up to be able to endure fatigue, and train them properly, not only in exercises for war, but in manœuvres for parade, and in service in the field, what can prevent him, unless some god be adverse to his endeavours, from rendering his horses of far greater value than they were when he took them under his care, or from having not only estimable horses, but being himself greatly admired for his skill in the art of horsemanship?

CHAPTER XII.

Of a horseman's armour and arms.

1. We wish also to show how he should be armed who prepares to encounter danger on horseback.

In the first place, then, we say that his coat of mail should be made to suit his body; because the whole of the body supports one that fits well, but the shoulders only support one that is too loose; and one that is too tight is a prison, and not a coat of defence. 2. Since the neck, too, is one of the vital parts, we think that a covering should be made for it of the same shape with the neck, rising from the coat of mail; for it will not only be an ornament, but, if it be made as it ought to be, will cover the face of the rider, if he wishes, up to the nose.

3. As for the helmet, we consider that which is of Bœotian manufacture to be the best; for it protects most effectually all the parts above the corslet, and yet does not prevent the wearer from seeing.

The coat of mail, again, should be made in such a way that it may not prevent the horseman from sitting or stooping. 4. About the abdomen, too, and the parts below and around, there should be skirts of such a description and size as to protect the limbs.

5. Since, also, if the left hand should be hurt, it disables the rider, we recommend the armour which has been invented

for it, and which is called the *hand;* for it protects the shoulder, the upper part of the arm, the elbow, and the portion of the arm next to the bridle, and can be either expanded or contracted; and it also covers the part under the arm which is left unguarded by the coat of mail.

6. The right hand a rider must raise, when he wishes either to hurl a weapon or to strike a blow. Whatever portion of the coat of mail, therefore, would obstruct it, must be removed; and if in its place a sort of flaps with joints be put, they will, when the arm is raised, unfold at the same time, and, when it is let down, will close.

7. As to the right arm, that sort of defence which is put on it like greaves on the leg appears to us to be better adapted for protecting it than that which is attached to the coat of mail; and the part of the arm which is exposed when the right hand is lifted up must be defended near the coat of mail, with a covering made of calf's skin or of brass; otherwise it will be left unguarded in a most dangerous place.

8. Since, too, if the horse is disabled, the rider will be in extreme peril, it is necessary to arm the horse also with defences for his head, his breast, and his shoulders; for these assist likewise in guarding the rider's thighs. But of all parts of the horse we take most care to protect his belly, for it is at once a most vital and a most defenceless part; but it is possible to protect it by something connected with the housings.[1]

9. It is necessary, too, that that which covers the horse's back should be put together in such a way that the rider may have a firmer seat,[2] and that the back of the horse may not be galled. As to other parts, also, both horse and horseman should be armed with the same precaution.[3]

10. The legs and feet will naturally hang down below the covering of the thighs; but these parts may be sufficiently protected, if a sort of boots be constructed for them of the leather of which sandals are made; for such boots may be at once armour for the legs and shoes for the feet.

11. Such is the armour that may prove, if the gods be propitious, a defence against harm. But to inflict injury on an

[1] Δυνατὸν δὲ σὺν τῷ ἐφιππείῳ αὐτὸν σκεπάσαι.] "Il est possible de couvrir les flancs, en ajoutant quelque chose à la selle." *Gail.*

[2] Than if he sat on the horse's bare back.

[3] So that the armour may not gall.

enemy, we recommend the short curved sword rather than the long straight one; for from a horseman, seated aloft, a blow from a scymitar will be more effective than one from a straight sword. 12. Instead of a reed-like spear, as it is weak and inconvenient to carry, we rather approve of two javelins of corneil wood; for a skilful thrower may hurl one of these, and use the other against assailants either in front, or flank, or rear.[1] They are at once stronger than a spear, and more easily carried.

13. We approve of the hurling of a javelin from a great distance; for by that means more time is allowed for throwing it[2] and for taking another weapon. We shall intimate in a few words how the javelin may be hurled with the greatest effect. If the rider advance his left side, at the same time drawing back his right, and rising on his thighs, and launch his weapon with its point directed a little upwards, he will thus send it with the greatest force and to the greatest distance; and he will send it with the truest aim, if the point, as it is discharged, is directed steadily to the mark.

14. Let these admonitions, and instructions, and exercises be considered sufficient to be prescribed for a private individual. What it is proper for a commander of cavalry to know and to do, is set forth in another treatise.

[1] Dindorf retains in his text εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν, though Leunclavius and Zeune had shown the necessity of writing τοὔπισθεν.

[2] Ἀποστρέψαι.] If this word is genuine, I suppose that it means *torquere* or *emittere*, unless it is to be referred to the horse, *equum avertere ab hoste*. *Schneider*. "Pour se détourner." *Gail*.

HIPPARCHICUS;

OR,

A TREATISE ON THE

DUTIES OF A COMMANDER OF CAVALRY.

REMARKS.

THE object of this treatise is to show how a commander of the Athenian cavalry may maintain them at the proper number; how they may be suitably equipped; and how he may employ them with the greatest efficiency.

It is addressed to some one person. Camerarius supposes that it was written for the instruction of Xenophon's son Gryllus, who afterwards served in the Athenian cavalry, and whom, he thinks, his father wished to qualify for a commander. Weiske is inclined to favour Camerarius's opinion.

There were two hipparchs, or chief commanders of the cavalry at Athens.

CHAPTER I.

Summary of the duties of a commander-in-chief of the cavalry, § 1—9. How he may keep his men and horses in an efficient and serviceable condition, and render the inferior officers well qualified for their duties, 10—26.

1. FIRST of all, it is incumbent on you to offer sacrifice, and to entreat the gods to grant you to think, and say, and do those things by which you may exercise your command most agreeably to them, and with the greatest pleasure, and honour, and benefit to yourself, your friends, and your country.

2. When the gods are propitiated, you must prepare your cavalry,[1] taking care that the number[2] prescribed by law

[1] *Ἀναβιβαστέον μέν σοι ἱππέας.*] *Ἀναβιβάζειν* is here used for *parare, legere, constituere*, "to prepare, choose, appoint." *Weiske.*

[2] Xenophon seems to mean a thousand; see c. 9, sect. 3. This is the

may be completed, and that the force previously enrolled may not be diminished; for, unless new horsemen are added, the number will constantly grow less, as some must retire from old age, and some must fail from other causes.

3. After the complement is made up, you must take care that the horses may be fed in such a way as to be able to endure exertion; for horses that are too weak for their work will be unable either to overtake an enemy or to retreat. You must make it an object of your attention, too, that they may be fit for service; for such as are unmanageable are an aid to the enemy rather than to their friends. 4. Such as kick when they are mounted, also, must be set aside; for they often inflict more mischief on their own side than the enemy inflict. You must pay attention to their feet also, that they may be in a condition to be ridden even on rough ground, knowing that when they suffer from being ridden they become useless.

5. When you have your horses in proper condition, you must next exercise your men; in the first place, that they may be well able to vault on their horses, for by that means safety has been secured by many; and in the second, that they may be qualified to ride over every kind of ground, as the enemy will be at different times in different places. 6. When they are able to sit firm, you must see that they exercise themselves, as much as possible, in throwing javelins on horseback, and that they qualify themselves to do everything that cavalry ought to do.

After this, you must arm both your horses and their riders in such a manner that they may be least likely to be wounded, and may be able to do the greatest possible harm to the enemy.

7. In the next place, you must make it your care that your men may be obedient; for without obedience there will be no profit either in good horses, or in firm-seated riders, or in fine arms.

In regard to all these things, then, it is right that a commander of cavalry should give authoritative directions, in order that they may be properly done.

8. But since the state, thinking it difficult for the com-

number of knights, or persons of sufficient means to maintain a horse for the public service, mentioned by Aristophanes, Eq. 225. See Boeckh's Pub. Econ. of Athens, vol. i. p. 352.

mander of the cavalry to accomplish all these objects without assistance, appoints him the phylarchs [1] as coadjutors, and enjoins the senate to support him by giving their attention to the cavalry, it appears to me of great importance that you should prepare the phylarchs to study what is for the advantage of the cavalry as well as yourself, and that you should secure able speakers in the senate, who may, by their remarks, keep the cavalry in awe (for under the influence of fear they will attend to their duties better), and who may pacify the senate, should they show any unreasonable displeasure.

9. These are suggestions as to the duties to which you must attend. How each of them may be best discharged I will now endeavour to show.

Into the cavalry, then, it is evident that you must bring, according to the law, such of the citizens as are in the best condition as to pecuniary means and as to bodily strength, either by calling them before the judges or by persuading them. 10. Before the judges I think that you must summon those, whom if you were not to summon, you would be thought to abstain from doing so from regard to your interest; for those of inferior means would at once have a ground of excuse, if you should forbear to coerce the most able first of all. 11. As for the young, you seem likely, in my opinion, to animate them with a desire for cavalry service, if you enlarge to them on the opportunities for distinction in the cavalry; and you will be likely to find less opposition from those [2] who have authority over them, if you represent to them that they will be obliged, if not by you, at least by some one else,[3] to maintain a horse on account of their fortune; 12. but that, if their sons engage in the cavalry under you, you will restrain them from expensive and unreasonable purchasing of horses, and will make it your care that they shall soon become able horsemen; and while you say this, you must study to do it.

13. As for those who are in the cavalry service at present, it appears to me that the senate, if they were to give notice that the equestrian exercise will in future be doubled, and that

[1] Φυλάρχους.] The phylarchs were captains of tribes, of which, after the time of Cleisthenes, B. C. 510, there were ten at Athens. Comp. Xen. Hellen. iv. 2. 19.

[2] Their parents and guardians, as Brodæus observes.

[3] By some succeeding hipparch, or by the state.

they will reject the horses that cannot keep up with the others, would excite them to feed their horses better, and to pay them more attention. 14. It seems to me very proper, also, that an announcement should be made that all unruly horses will be rejected; for a threat of that kind would stimulate the owners of such horses to sell them, and purchase others with greater judgment. 15. It would be well, too, for notice to be given that horses apt to kick during exercise will be rejected; for it is impossible to range horses of that description in proper order, and, whenever an advance is to be made upon the enemy, they will of necessity follow in the rear; so that the rider may be rendered useless by the inefficiency of his horse.

16. For keeping the feet of the horses in the best condition,[1] if any one has an easier and cheaper method than mine, let it be adopted; if not, I recommend, from experience, that the horseman should scatter over the ground stones gathered from the road, of about a pound weight, more or less, and that he should keep the horse standing on such stones while he grooms him, and let him walk upon them whenever he goes out of the stable; for thus the horse will be constantly moving his feet on the stones, as well when he is rubbed down as when he is annoyed by flies. He that makes trial of this suggestion will give credit to others which I shall offer, and will see the feet of his horse become firm.[2]

17. I shall next show how, when the horses are brought into the condition in which they ought to be, the riders may be best trained. The younger of them I should advise to learn to vault upon their horses; and if you assign them a person to teach them, you will justly gain praise for doing so. The older you may accustom to be mounted with the aid of others, after the Persian manner,[3] and may thus be of great service to them. 18. To lead out the cavalry frequently, however, in order that they may be qualified to keep their seats on every sort of ground, may perhaps appear, when there is no war, somewhat troublesome; but it will be proper to call the horse-

[1] See the Treatise on Horsemanship, c. 4, sect. 5.

[2] Στρογγύλους.] By this word is meant something similar to what is signified by the Latin *teres*, round, smooth, of a proper shape, indicating firmness and strength.

[3] See the Treatise on Horsemanship, c. 6, sect. 12.

men together, and to advise them to exercise themselves, and then ride out into the country, or anywhere else, to quit the beaten road, and to gallop their horses over ground of all sorts; for this will be of much the same use as to lead them out, and will cause them less annoyance. 19. It will be useful to remind them, too, that the state supports an expenditure of nearly forty talents a year for the cavalry, in order that, if war arise, they may not have to seek cavalry, but may make use of that which they have at once, as being in proper condition; for it is natural that the soldiers, reflecting on this expense, should apply to their exercise with greater diligence, in order that, if war should break out, they may not have to contend, without due preparation, for their country, for glory, and for life.

20. It will be well for you also to announce to the men, that you will take them out yourself on certain occasions, and will lead them over ground of every description. In exercises, too, for mock combats, it will be proper to lead them out to different places at different times; for such charges will be more beneficial both to the riders and to their horses.

21. As for javelin-throwing on horseback, the greatest number seem to me likely to be induced to practise it, if you give notice to the phylarchs that they will be required to lead out the javelin-throwers of their several tribes to exercise themselves with the javelin; for they will thus be induced by ambition, as is probable, to produce respectively as many javelin-throwers as possible for the service of the state.

22. The phylarchs, too, appear to me likely to contribute most to the horsemen being well armed, if they be persuaded that it will be much more honourable, in the opinion of the state, that they should be adorned by the splendour of their several tribes than merely by their own equipments. 23. It is probable that they will not be difficult of persuasion as to such points, as they sought the command in their tribes from desire of distinction and honour; and they will be able, too, to have their men armed according to law, without incurring any personal expense, by obliging them to equip themselves, as the law directs, out of their own pay.

24. To render the men obedient, it is important to represent, in your addresses to them, how many advantages there are in submitting to orders; and it is of great effect to arrange things

so in practice that the orderly may gain something by their good conduct, and the disorderly be in every respect the losers.

25. But the strongest incitement to the phylarchs to be ambitious to bring the men of their several tribes well equipped into the field appears to me to be, that you should adorn your staff-officers [1] about you with arms in the highest degree splendid, and oblige them to exercise themselves in throwing the javelin as frequently as possible, leading them yourself to trials of skill at that weapon, having previously acquired sufficient skill in throwing it yourself. 26. If any one could offer prizes, moreover, to the several tribes, for excellence in whatever is commonly practised by cavalry on public occasions, I think that such a proposal would have the greatest effect in exciting the Athenians in general to emulation. It is seen in the case of the choruses how much labour is endured, and how much money expended, to obtain very small prizes. You should take care, however, to secure judges by whom the candidates will be best pleased to be pronounced conquerors.

CHAPTER II.

Of the order to be observed by the cavalry on different occasions.

1. WHEN your cavalry are well exercised in all these particulars, they ought next to be taught a certain order, by observing which they may march in processions at the feast of the gods with the greatest precision, may perform their evolutions with the best effect, may fight, if it be necessary, with the greatest success, and may pursue their marches and make their way over obstacles with the utmost ease and the least possible confusion. What order they may adopt, so as

[1] Τοὺς ἀμφὶ σὲ προδρόμους.]' Weiske very properly supposes that these προδρόμοι were *turma quædam prætoriana*, a corps of officers whom the hipparchus might despatch with orders, or send on before him on any commission; or they may have been so called because they rode before the hipparch. They were distinct from the πρόοδοι mentioned in c. 4, sect. 5.

to be likely to accomplish these objects most effectually, I shall now endeavour to show.

2. Distinct tribes, then, are appointed by the state. Among these I think that you ought first of all to appoint, with the approbation of each of the phylarchs, captains of ten, selected from the citizens in the vigour of youth, and such as are most ambitious to do something honourable and obtain praise. These you ought to place in the first rank in each ten. 3. In the next place, you ought to choose an equal number of the oldest and wisest, who may hold the last rank in the ten; for, if I may illustrate my meaning by a comparison, iron penetrates into iron best when the fore part of the cutting instrument is strong, and the hinder part urged with competent force. 4. As to those who are placed in the middle between the first and the last, if the captains of the tens choose those who are to stand next to them, and the others choose others in like manner, it is likely that each will have a sufficiently trustworthy supporter. 5. For the leader of each tribe,[1] you ought by all means to appoint an able man; for, if he is brave, he will, whenever he is to march against the enemy, inspire those in front with ardour by his exhortations; or, if circumstances require him to retreat, he will be more likely, by drawing off his troop judiciously, to preserve the men of his tribe. 6. If the captains of ten, again, are of an even number,[2] they will afford facilities for dividing them into more equal parts than if they be of an odd number.

This arrangement pleases me for these reasons, that, in the first place, all those in the first rank are officers, and men when they are in command think it more incumbent on them to do something honourable than when they are mere privates; and, secondly, that when anything is to be done, an order has far more effect when it comes, not from privates, but from officers.

7. When this order is established, then, as the place of the phylarchs, in which each of them is to ride, is appointed by

[1] Τὸν ἀφηγούμενον.] Weiske considers that the phylarch is meant, and Schneider agrees with him.

[2] Xenophon recommends that the number of the captains of ten should be an even number, that it may be more easily divided into several smaller parts or numbers, to each of which some office or honour may be assigned. *Schneider.*

the commander-in-chief, so the places for the captains of tens, where they are severally to march, must be appointed by the captains of tribes; for, when such appointments are made, things will be in far better order than if they run against one another, going wherever chance may lead them, like people coming out of a theatre. 8. Those in the first rank, too, will be more disposed to fight, if any opposition appear in front of them, when they know that the front is their proper place; and those in the rear, if an enemy appears behind them, will be more ready to exert themselves, as they know that it will be a disgrace to them to leave their post. 9. But if they are without any regular order, they throw one another into confusion in defiles and passages of rivers, and no one of his own accord takes a post in face of the enemy.

All these particulars ought to be carefully studied by the cavalry universally, if they would be staunch supporters to their leader.

CHAPTER III.

Of the various exercises and evolutions of the cavalry.

1. THE following matters must be the business of the commander-in-chief alone.[1] First, that he may obtain favourable omens from the gods, on behalf of the cavalry, by offering sacrifices; next, that he may render the processions, on festal occasions, worthy of being seen; and, in addition, that he may exhibit whatever spectacles he has to produce for the public in the best possible manner, whether in the Academia, in the Lyceum, the Phaleron,[2] or the Hippodrome. The latter will form subjects for particular admonitions. But how each of these general divisions may be best ordered, I shall here attempt to show.

2. As to the processions, then, I think that they may be rendered most acceptable, as well to the gods as to the specta-

[1] Αὐτῷ.] In the sense of *soli*, "*alone.*" *Weiske.*

[2] Phaleron, or the Phaleron, was both a harbour, or dockyard, and a *demus* of Athens. It is the harbour, says Sturz, that is meant here.

tors, if, whatever deities have temples and statues in the forum, the cavalry should march round to those statues and temples, beginning with those of Hermes, and circumambulating the forum in honour of those deities. At the festival of Bacchus, the choruses offer homage, by their dancing, to other gods besides the twelve. When they have ridden round, and have come to the statues of Hermes again, it seems to me that it will be well for them to ride their horses at a quick pace from thence, one tribe after another, to the temple of Eleusinian Ceres.

3. Nor will I omit to mention how their lances may be carried so as least to interfere one with another; for each man should hold his lance between the ears of his horse, if the weapons are to look formidable and distinct, and at the same time to present the appearance of a multitude.

4. When they have made an end of riding at a quick pace, it will be proper for them to ride steadily back, at the other pace,[1] by the same route as before, to the temples again; and thus whatever manœuvres are performed on mounted horses will have been fully displayed both to gods and men.

5. That the cavalry are not accustomed to these performances I am well aware; but I think that they will be becoming and attractive, and afford pleasure to the spectators. I find also that the cavalry have executed other new evolutions, when their commanders-in-chief were able to prevail on them to do what they wished.

6. When they ride in the Lyceum, before they engage in throwing the javelin, it will be well for the tribes to ride five on each side with an extended front,[2] as if prepared for battle, with the commander-in-chief and the captains of the tribes at their head, in such array as to cover the whole breadth of the course. 7. But when they have passed the extremity[3] of the theatre opposite to them,[4] I think it will be a fine sight, if you show that the cavalry can ride at a quick pace down the steep, as many abreast as is suitable for the ground. 8. Nor am I ignorant that they will perform this

[1] Τὴν ἄλλην.] Understand διέλασιν. *Schneider.*

[2] Ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου.] With the front of each troop much extended, the depth being very small. *Zeune.*

[3] Τὸ κεφάλαιον.] "L'extrémité." *Gail.*

[4] As they come out of the Lyceum. *Sauppe.*

duty with the greatest pleasure, if they but feel confident that they will be able to ride fast; but if they remain unexercised in this respect, you will have to take care lest the enemy may at some time force them to practise it.

9. The order has now been stated[1] in which, in the exercises for approval,[2] the cavalry may ride with the best effect. But if the leader, provided that he have a strong horse, constantly rides round about[3] on the outside rank, he will thus continually ride at a quick pace himself, and those who are on the outside with him will ride at a quick pace in their turn, so that the senate[4] will always have before them the portion which is advancing rapidly, and the horses will not be wearied, as they will rest in succession.

10. But when the exhibition is to be made in the hippodrome, it will be well to arrange the cavalry, at first, in such a manner that they may cover the hippodrome with the extent of their line, and clear all the people from the midst of it. 11. It will be proper, too, when the tribes in the mock combats[5] pursue and flee from one another at full speed, and when the officers are at the head of the five tribes,[6] that the tribes on either side should ride through the spaces between the other tribes; for in such a spectacle, when they ride front to front against each other, there is something that produces awe, and something imposing when, after having ridden over the hippodrome, they assume a position facing one another; and it is a noble sight, when, at the next sound of the trumpet, they ride towards one another with increased speed. 12. When they have come to a stand again, they must rush a third time, at the sound of the trumpet, towards one another at their utmost speed; and, when they have ridden their course, they must, to bring the spectacle to a conclusion, form in one

[1] I suppose in c. 2. *Weiske.*

[2] *Ἐν ταῖς δοκιμασίαις.*] "Aux évolutions d'épreuve." *Gail.* There was a law at Athens, that if any one put himself into the cavalry *ἀδοκίμαστος*, "without having been approved," he incurred *ἀτιμία*. Schneider gives this on the authority of Lysias, p. 523.

[3] So as to be sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other. *Weiske.*

[4] These exercises were performed in sight of the senate. See sect. 12.

[5] *Ἐν ταις ἀνθιππασίαις.*] I give the sense which Hesychius and Suidas assign to this word.

[6] Comp. sect. 6.

body, and, as is your custom, ride forwards towards the senate. 13. Such evolutions would appear to me to present something more warlike, and something more novel, than is usual; but for a commander-in-chief to ride slower than the captains of tribes, or to manœuvre exactly in the same manner as they, is unbecoming his office.

14. When you have to exhibit the cavalry in the Academia, however, on hard ground,[1] I would offer the following hints for your observation: that the men, to secure themselves from falling off their horses, should lean back as they ride, and that, to prevent the horses from falling, they should keep up their heads with the bridle whenever they wheel round. When they ride straight forward, however, they ought to ride at a quick pace, for thus the senate will have before them an exhibition free from danger and of great attraction.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the mode of marching in time of war, § 1—5. How to act cautiously and efficiently with a small force, 6—20.

1. On marches, the commander of cavalry ought constantly to consider how he may give rest to the backs of his horses, and afford relief to the riders as they proceed,[2] whether by riding at a moderate pace, or by dismounting and walking at a moderate pace. In maintaining this moderate pace you will not fail, if you pay proper attention to the matter; for every man can judge from himself, so as not to be unaware when others are over-fatigued. 2. When, however, you are marching to any particular place, and it is uncertain whether you

[1] Ἐν τῷ ἐπικρότῳ, *in solo duro*, is the reading adopted by Dindorf and Sauppe. Most editions have ἀποκρότῳ, "steep." But Xenophon was previously speaking, says Sauppe, of sandy ground; now he speaks of harder ground.

[2] Ἀναπαύη τοὺς ἱππέας τοῦ βαδίζειν.] Properly, "relieve the riders," ἀπὸ τοῦ βαδίζειν, "from marching," i. e. from too much exertion or fatigue on the march. Βαδίζειν here means "proceeding on horseback," not "on foot," as Sturz imagines.

may fall in with the enemy, you must let the tribes rest only in turns, for it would be dangerous if the enemy should come upon you when all your men are dismounted. 3. If, again, you have to march through narrow passes, you must lead on your men, at the word of command, in single file ; if you come into broad roads, you must, at the word of command, extend the front of each tribe ; and when you come forth into open plains, you must form all the tribes in a solid body ; for it is well to execute these movements even for the sake of exercise, and it is more agreeable, as you pursue your route, to vary the modes of marching in the different companies.

4. When you march out of the beaten road, and over difficult ground, it will be very proper, not only in a hostile but in a friendly country, that some of the inferiôr officers should ride on in advance of each tribe ; who, if they meet with impassable woods, may seek unobstructed ways, and point out to the rest of the cavalry where they must direct their march, so that whole companies may not stray from one another. 5. If you march in expectation of encountering dangers, it is the part of a prudent commander to see that extraordinary scouts go before the ordinary ones to ascertain the position of the enemy. It is proper, also, both with reference to attacking and for keeping on guard, that at the crossing of rivers the soldiers should wait for one another, that those who get over last may not fatigue their horses by hastening after their leader. Almost all officers know the propriety of this, but there are not many willing to take the trouble of constantly attending to it.

6. It is the duty of a commander of cavalry in time of peace, also, to study to acquire an exact knowledge, as well of the enemy's country, as of his own ; and if he cannot obtain such knowledge personally, he may keep about him men that are well acquainted with the several parts of both countries ; for a leader who knows the roads is a totally different person from one who is ignorant of them ; and, in forming plans against the enemy, he who has a knowledge of the country has a vast advantage over him who is a stranger to it. 7. When you are procuring spies, too, before a war is actually begun, you ought to take care that they may be taken from towns friendly to both parties, and from merchants ; for all towns receive as friends those who bring anything with them ; and such persons

are sometimes useful as pretended deserters. 8. You ought never to trust to your spies, however, so far as to neglect to keep on your guard, but you should always be as well prepared as if the enemy were reported to be approaching; for however trustworthy the spies may be, it may be difficult for them to bring information in time, since many obstacles occur in war.

9. The enemy will be least likely to observe the march of cavalry out of the camp, if it be conducted by notice communicated from man to man rather than by announcement made by a herald or by a written order.[1] Besides leading out the troops, too, by notice from man to man, it will be proper to appoint captains of ten, and captains of five under the captains of ten, that each may have to give orders to as few as possible, and also that the captains of five may extend the front of the troop by bringing forward their men, as they may do without confusion, whenever there is occasion.

10. Whenever it is necessary to guard against surprise, I always recommend watches to be set, and sentinels to be posted, with secrecy; for thus, while they are a security to their friends, they are rendered as it were an ambush for the enemy. 11. The watch themselves, too, when they are concealed, are less liable to surprise, and much more to be dreaded by the enemy; for though the enemy may know that there are advanced guards somewhere, yet, if they know not where they are, or what is their number, their ignorance deprives them of all feeling of security, and compels them to regard every spot with suspicion; while guards posted openly show them at once what they have to fear, and how far they may be free from apprehension. 12. He also that has parties on guard posted secretly, will be able, by sending out a small party openly in advance of those that are concealed, to endeavour to draw the enemy into an ambush. Another way of occasionally surprising the enemy, also, is to post parties that are visible behind those that are concealed; and this may be as effective in deceiving an antagonist as the method previously mentioned. 13. It is indeed the part of a prudent commander never to expose himself to danger, except when he has previously made it clear that he will have the advantage over his adversaries. But for him to offer favourable opportunities of which the enemy may take advantage,[2] may

[1] Which must be read aloud to the men.

[2] Τὸ δὲ ὑπηρετεῖν τὰ ἥδιστα τοῖς πολεμίοις.] This is the case when an

be justly considered rather a betrayal of his party,[1] than a display of fortitude. 14. It is judicious, moreover, to make an attack on the enemy in the part where he is weakest, though that part may be at some distance; for to endure the fatigue of a long march is less dangerous than to contend against a superior force. 15. Should the enemy advance between two fortified places that are friendly to you, it will be well, even though they are far superior to you in number, to attack them on that wing on which you may approach them unobserved; or it will be well even to attack them on both wings at once; for, whenever one of your parties has to retire,[2] the other, riding up on the opposite side, may throw the enemy into confusion and assist in bringing off their friends.

16. That it is proper to endeavour to learn the state of the enemy's affairs by means of scouts, has been long ago said;[3] but I think it best of all for the general himself to watch the enemy, if he can, from some safe position, and observe whether they commit any error. 17. Whatever may be taken from them secretly, too, it is well to send a competent detachment to bring off; and whatever can be snatched from them openly, it is proper to despatch troops openly to seize.

If, again, when the enemy are on the march, any part of their force, weaker than your own, is detached from the main body, or strays from it through too great self-confidence, you must not fail to take advantage of such an opportunity; but you must always take care to pursue such weaker body with a force stronger than itself. 18. You may also, by giving your attention, profit by the following observations in regard to animals. Since birds and beasts of prey, which are inferior in intellect to man, as kites for instance, will seize on whatever is left unguarded, and retreat to a place of safety before they are captured, and wolves will hunt cattle that are without protection, or steal such as are in places unwatched, and

opportunity of fighting is offered to an enemy, in circumstances in which he is desirous of it. Thus the rashness of Flaminius, and the eagerness of Varro, were of advantage to Hannibal. *Zeune.*

[1] Συμμάχων.] Fellow-soldiers; those fighting on the same side. *Weiske.*

[2] Through being repulsed by the enemy, or from any other cause. *Zeune.*

[3] By others. Our author has just touched on the subject in sect. 7 and 8 of this chapter. *Zeune.*

if a dog comes in pursuit of one of them, he will, if the dog is weaker than himself, attack him, or, if he is stronger, will kill the animal that he is carrying, and make off; 19. and since wolves, too, when they think themselves stronger[3] than those who are keeping guard, appoint some of their number to drive off the guard, and others to carry away the cattle, and thus secure subsistence for themselves; 20. does it not become man, when beasts can carry off their prey with so much cunning, to show himself wiser than beasts, which are themselves caught by the art of man?

CHAPTER V.

Of contrivances for deceiving the enemy.

1. A MAN who has the charge of cavalry ought also to know in what distance a horse can overtake a person on foot, and at what distance slow horses may escape from such as are swifter.[2] It becomes a commander of cavalry to understand, too, on what kinds of ground foot are preferable to horse, and when horse are preferable to foot. 2. He should be fertile also in contrivances, and know how to make a small body of cavalry appear large, and a large one appear but small; how to make the enemy imagine that he is absent when he is present, and present when he is absent; and how, not only to conceal the state of things among the enemy from his own men, but, by concealing the movements of his own men from the enemy, to attack them unawares. It is an excellent artifice, also, to contrive, when you are weaker than the enemy, to strike terror into them, that they may not attack you; and, when you are stronger, to create a false confidence in them, that they may come to a battle; for thus you yourself are

[1] *Ὅταν—φυλακῆς καταφρονήσωσι.*] When the wolves think lightly of the guard, as being careless or weak. *Zeune.*

[2] *Ἐξ ὁπόσου βραδεῖς ἂν ἵπποι ταχεῖς ἀποφεύγοιεν.*] *Βραδεῖς* is the nominative. Camerarius has very clearly expressed the sense: *De quanto spatio tardi equi ante veloces fugâ elabi possint.* Zeune.

least likely to suffer loss, and are in the best condition to take advantage of any error on the part of the enemy.

3. That I may not be thought to prescribe what is impossible, I will explain how that which appears most difficult in such proceedings may be accomplished. 4. Security from failure, then, when attempting to pursue or retreat, a knowledge of the strength of his horses will give. But how can he obtain this knowledge? By observing, in the mock fights during peace, how the horses hold out in pursuit and retreat. 5. When you wish your cavalry to appear numerous, let it be your first consideration whether there be a fair opportunity for doing so, that you may not attempt to deceive the enemy when you are close upon them; for it is safer to try such deceit at a distance, and it is more likely to be successful. You must then bear in mind that horses appear numerous when they are in a close body, on account of the size of the animal, but that, when they are scattered about, they are easily counted. 6. Your cavalry may also be made to appear more numerous than they are, if you station the grooms[1] between the horsemen, holding spears, if possible, or, if not, something resembling spears, in their hands; and this you may do whether you exhibit the cavalry standing still, or whether you are leading it along, for the mass of a troop must thus always appear greater and denser. 7. Should you, on the other hand, wish a large number to seem small, it is plain that, if there be grounds at hand to admit of concealment, you may keep some of your men on the open parts, and place others out of sight, and thus disguise their number; but if the country is entirely open, you must range your men by tens in single file,[2] and lead them on with an interval between the files, and you must make the men of each ten immediately in front of the enemy hold their lances erect, while the rest keep them down and out of sight. 8. To alarm the enemy you may adopt pretended ambuscades, may feign to send succour to this or that quarter, or may circulate false reports. The enemy, however, are always boldest when they hear that their adversaries have plenty of trouble or occupation.

[1] Every horse-soldier seems to have had his ἱππόκομος, or groom, with him in the field.

[2] *Δεκάδας χρὴ στοιχούσας ποιήσαντα.*] Στοιχούσας is interpreted by Zeune *in versus rectos porrectas*, "extended in straight rows or files."

9. Having laid down these precepts, I shall add that a commander ought always to be on the alert to deceive the enemy, so as to take advantage of present circumstances; for in reality nothing is more useful in war than deceit. 10. And when even children, as they play at guessing numbers,[1] are able to deceive by making pretences, so that, when they have but few, they may appear to have many, and, when they bring forward many, may appear to have but few, how can it be impossible for men, when they apply their minds to deceive, to be able to contrive similar stratagems? 11. If a person reflects upon the various advantages that have been obtained in wars, he will find that the most and greatest have been obtained by stratagems. For which reason a man must either never attempt to be a commander, or he must supplicate the gods that he may be able to unite this accomplishment with others, and he himself must strive to excel in it.

12. For commanders who have sea at hand, it is an excellent mode of deceiving the enemy, to seem to be fitting out ships, and in the mean time to carry into execution some enterprise by land, or, while they pretend to be forming designs by land, to make some attempt by sea.

13. It is the duty of a commander of cavalry, too, to impress upon the state how weak cavalry is, when unsupported by infantry, against an enemy that has cavalry united with his infantry. It is the duty also of a commander of cavalry, when he has infantry given him, to use them with effect. He may conceal his infantry, too, not only among his cavalry, but

[1] "Οταν παίζωσι ποσίνδα.] *Quoties ludunt in numero divinando,* is the translation of these words given in the Latin version attached to Didot's edition of Dindorf's Text, Paris, 1853. Ποσίνδα is a conjecture of Dindorf's, in place of *ποσὶ δὲ ἃ*, from which no commentator could extract any sense. But whether it be what Xenophon wrote is a matter of uncertainty. Βασιλίνδα, the model on which it is formed, meant a convivial game, at which he who became king by lot obliged the rest of the company to do what he pleased. The interpretation of ποσίνδα is from πόσα ἔχει, "how many are there?" a question asked at the game of even or odd, Aristot. Rhet. iii. 5, 4. Ὀλίγους, and the other masculine adjectives which follow in the text, must be regarded as agreeing with πεσσούς, a word which Schneider had proposed to introduce into the passage, by reading ὅταν παίζωσι πεσσοῖς. But neither πεσσοῖς nor ποσίνδα seems to suit well with the military stratagems of which Xenophon is speaking; the allusion seems rather to have been to boys disguising their numbers when they play at soldiers, or some game of that kind.

behind them; for a horseman obstructs the view far more than a foot soldier. 14. But all such stratagems, and whatever others he may contrive in addition to them, when he wishes to get the advantage of the enemy either by force or by art, I recommend him to try only under the favour of the gods, so that, when the gods are propitious, fortune may be on his side.

15. It is sometimes an effectual mode of deceit to make it appear that you are extremely cautious, and utterly averse to risk; for this often leads the enemy to be less on their guard, and to commit more mistakes. On the other hand, if a commander appears on some occasions to be venturesome, he may, even while he continues quiet, yet feigns to be preparing for some enterprise, cause the enemy much anxiety.

CHAPTER VI.

How a leader may secure the respect and affection of his men.

1. But no workman can fashion anything as he wishes, unless the materials from which he has to fashion it be prepared to his hand, so that they may obey his pleasure; nor can a commander do what he pleases with men, unless they be so disposed, with the help of the gods, as to have a friendly feeling towards him, and a conviction that he has more skill than themselves in ordering battles with an enemy. 2. A friendly feeling it is likely that the troops will entertain towards him, if he shows that he takes thought for them, that they may have provisions, may retire to a secure camp, and rest under a sufficient guard. 3. In the field[1] he must let it be seen that he pays attention to the fodder for the horses, the tents, the water, the posting of sentinels, and all other necessary matters, exercising his forethought, and even depriving himself of sleep, for the good of those under his command. When the commander has abundance of anything, it

[1] Ἐν ταῖς φρουραῖς.] Φρουρὰ must here, apparently, be taken in the sense in which it was used at Sparta in the phrase φρουρὰν φαίνειν, to give notice of a levy, or the assembling of a force for any expedition.

will be for his interest to share it with his men. 4. Contempt for a commander they will be very unlikely to feel, if, to say all in a few words, he appears to do whatever he orders them to do better than they. 5. Beginning, therefore, with the mounting of their horses, he ought to exercise them in every sort of equestrian accomplishment, that they may see that their leader is able to cross ditches on horseback with safety, to leap over walls, to jump down from heights, and to throw his javelin efficiently; for all such qualifications contribute to protect him from being undervalued. 6. If they feel assured, too, that he is skilful in directing affairs, and able to secure them advantages over the enemy; if they are impressed also with the belief that he will not lead them against the enemy rashly, or without the approbation of the gods, or in opposition to the auspices; all such feelings will render troops more submissive to their commander.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the qualifications necessary to a general for commanding against the Thebans. He must have great caution, and never put himself into the enemy's power, but weaken them by frequent slight attacks.

1. IT belongs, doubtless, to every commander to be prudent; but the commander of the cavalry of the Athenians ought to be far superior to others, both in showing respect for the gods and in military qualifications, as he has enemies[1] bordering on his country who have as many cavalry as himself, and a large force of heavy-armed infantry. 2. Should he then attempt to invade the enemy's country without the support of the other troops of the state, he would have to maintain a perilous contest against the enemy's cavalry and infantry with his cavalry only. Should the enemy, on the other hand, invade the country of the Athenians, they would not come, in the first place, without other cavalry united with their own, and, in the second place, without such a number of infantry that they would consider all the Athenians together unable to

[1] The Thebans. See sect. 3, fin.

oppose them in the field. 3. If, however, the whole people should go forth against such an enemy, with a resolution to defend their territory, favourable hopes might be entertained; for the cavalry, if their commander pays due attention to them, will be, with the help of the gods, superior to those of the enemy; the infantry will not be inferior to theirs in number, nor will they have the disadvantage in bodily strength, while in their minds they will be even more ambitious of distinction, if, under the favour of the gods, they be properly exercised. On their ancestors, certainly, the Athenians pride themselves no less than the Bœotians. 4. But should the people turn their thoughts towards the sea, and think it sufficient to save merely their walls, as at the time when the Lacedæmonians invaded the country in conjunction with all the other Greeks,[1] and should they appoint the cavalry to defend the parts outside the walls, and to hazard a contest, themselves alone, against all the invaders, I think that in that case there would be need, above all, of powerful support from the gods, and that it will be proper, in addition, for the commander of the cavalry to be an extremely accomplished leader; for he will require great judgment to act against an enemy far more numerous than his own troops, and great boldness to take advantage of an opportunity whenever one may present itself.

5. It is necessary also, as it appears to me, that he should be able to sustain personal fatigue;[2] for otherwise, having to contend at his peril with an army before him, to which not even the whole state would be willing to oppose itself, it is evident that he would have to submit to whatever those stronger than himself chose to impose upon him, and would be able to make not even a semblance of defence. 6. But if he should protect the grounds without the walls, with such a number of men as would suffice to watch the motions of the enemy, and be able to retreat into a place of safety after having observed whatever might be requisite,[3] (and a small number may be not less able to reconnoitre than a larger one,)

[1] In the time of Pericles, at the commencement of the Peloponnesian War; see Thucyd. ii. 13, 14, 22.

[2] Πονεῖν.] Weiske supposed this word corrupt. Schneider takes it in the sense of καρτερεῖν.

[3] Τὰ διόμενα.] These words have nothing to govern them. Dindorf supposes that ἴδοντες has fallen out of the text.

and those who are too timid to trust either to themselves or their horses may be as well qualified for going out to watch, and returning to their friends, as others, (for fear appears to be a powerful incentive to keeping guard), and a commander might perhaps accordingly decide rightly in taking guards from these; but if, when he has with him those who are not wanted for the guard, he considers that he has an army, it will certainly appear to him but a small one, for it will be altogether too weak to make head against the enemy in the field. But if he employs them as flying parties, he may find their force, as it would appear, quite sufficient for that duty. It behoves him, however, as it seems to me, to keep his men[1] always ready for action, and to be on the watch for any secret movement of the enemy's army, in case that they should be guilty of any error. 9. The more numerous an army is, indeed, the more faults the men are accustomed to commit; for they either scatter themselves about for the purpose of getting provisions,[2] or, marching with too little regard to order, some go before, and others fall behind, farther than is proper. 10. Such negligences you should not suffer to be committed with impunity, (for if you do so, the whole country will be one camp,)[3] taking good care, however, if you undertake any expedition, to make a hasty retreat before the great body of the enemy can come to the aid of their party.

11. An army on the march often comes into roads in which a large number of men can do no more than a small one; and at the crossings of the rivers it is possible for a commander who is on the alert, and who pursues with caution, to manage in such a manner that he may attack as many of his adversaries at once as he pleases. 12. Sometimes it is advantageous, too, to make attacks on the enemy when they are at their

[1] Τοὺς παρεσκευασμένους.] Weiske very justly supposes that some word, perhaps ἑαυτοῦ or ἱππέας, is lost out of the text after τούς. A little below, it appears necessary to insert an article, and read τὰ μὴ καταφανῆ ὄντα. The meaning of several words and phrases in this part is rather doubtful, but I have endeavoured to give everywhere the sense apparently most consistent with the scope of the author.

[2] Ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδει ἐπιμελέια.] The soundness of these words is questioned by most of the commentators. Leunclavius and Zeune propose to read περὶ for ἐπὶ, with τῇ before it.

[3] That is, the enemy will wander unrestrained throughout the whole country, carrying off booty. *Weiske.*

morning or evening meal, or when they are rising from their beds; for at all such times the troops are unarmed, the infantry for a shorter, and the cavalry for a longer time. 13. On their sentinels and outposts you should never cease to make attempts; for these are always few in number, and are sometimes stationed far away from the main body. 14. Should the enemy guard such posts well, it will not be amiss to pass them secretly, and penetrate into the enemy's ground, relying on the support of the gods, and after having first ascertained what force is at each station, and the exact spots where they are placed; for no prize is so honourable as the capture of an enemy's advanced guard. 15. Guards, indeed, are very easily deceived; since they are ready to pursue whatever small force they see, imagining that this is a part of their duty. You must have a care, however, as to the direction of your retreat, that it may not be on that side where the enemy will come to the succour of their party.

CHAPTER VIII.

Further admonitions on the same subject.

1 THOSE, however, who would be able to annoy a much stronger army than their own, ought to have so much the advantage over their enemies in military skill, that they themselves may appear accomplished in all kinds of equestrian exercises, and their adversaries utterly unpractised in them. 2. The first requisite to this is, that those who are to engage in predatory excursions should be so inured to the fatigue of riding, that they may be prepared to endure every sort of military exertion; for horses and men that are unaccustomed to such duty would appear like women going to fight against men. 3. But those who are taught and accustomed to leap across ditches, to vault over walls, to spring up on eminences, to descend from them with safety, and to ride at full speed down steep grounds, will have as much advantage over those who are unpractised in such exercises as winged animals have over those that can only walk. Those, again, whose feet are

hardened with exercise will be as superior on rough ground to those who are not habituated to it, as persons who are sound in their limbs are to those who are lame; and those who are acquainted with the face of a country will as much surpass those who are unacquainted with it, in advancing and retreating, as those who have sight would surpass the blind. 4. A commander should understand, moreover, that horses in good condition are such as are well fed, but at the same time exercised so effectually that they will not lose their wind under fatigue. And as bits and housings for horses can be useful only when they are fitted with straps, a commander of cavalry should never be without straps; for he may at a small expense put those who are in want of them in an efficient condition.

5. Should any officer think that he shall have too much trouble if he must thus exercise his cavalry, let him reflect that those who exercise themselves in gymnastic games undergo far greater labour and trouble than those who practise equestrian exercises to the utmost degree; for the greater part of gymnastic exercises are performed with extreme exertion, but most of those of an equestrian kind with pleasure. 6. Should a man pray, indeed, to become a winged animal, there is no human accomplishment that would bring him so near to the object of his wishes as horsemanship. 7. To gain a victory in the field of battle is far more glorious than to gain one in a pugilistic contest; for the state has a share in such honour,[1] and it is through success in war that the gods, for the most part, crown communities with prosperity; so that I know not why it is proper to practise any kind of exercises more than those of a warlike nature. 8. We may consider, also, that it is only through being inured to toil that the pirates are enabled to live on the property of those who are far stronger then themselves. On land, too, it is not the part of those who reap the fruit of their own grounds, but of those who are in want of sustenance, to commit depredations on others; for they must either cultivate the ground themselves,

[1] That is, the honour of victory in the field of battle. But the state had also some credit from gymnastic victories, as Schneider observes; and he therefore thinks that something is wrong in the text. The reader of the original will observe that *εὐδαιμονίᾳ*, a little below, is to be taken with *στεφανοῦσιν*, as the dative of the instrument.

or live on the produce of the labour of others, since by no other means is it possible either to secure life or enjoy peace.[1]

9. You must likewise bear in mind that you must never, when you make an attack with cavalry on a superior force, leave any ground behind you which is difficult for the horses to cross; for to be unhorsed is far more perilous to him who is retreating than to him who is pursuing.

10. I would wish to remind you, also, that you ought to be very cautious in the following respects; for there are some commanders who, when they are going against an enemy to whom they think themselves superior, set out with a very small force, so that they often suffer what they hoped to inflict; and, when they proceed against an enemy to whom they are quite certain that they are inferior, they take with them all the troops that they can command. 11. But I am of opinion that you ought to act in a quite contrary manner; when a commander leads out his troops in the expectation that he shall conquer, I think that he should not spare his force, whatever he has; for to have obtained an overwhelming victory has never been a cause of repentance to any leader. 12. But when he makes an attempt upon an enemy far superior in number, and foresees that, after doing his utmost, he will still be obliged to retreat, I assert that, in such a case, it is much better for him to lead a few of his men, than the whole of them, to the charge, but that he should take the flower of his force, the best of his men, and the best of his horses; for, being of that description, they will be able to execute any enterprise, and secure a retreat, with most safety. 13. But when he leads all his force against a superior enemy, and wishes to retreat, it must happen that those who are on the slowest horses will be overtaken, while others will fall off from unskilfulness in riding, and others will be intercepted through the difficulties of the ground; for it is hard to find any large extent of ground exactly such as you would wish. 14. They may also, from being numerous, run against each other, impede one another's progress, and do much damage. But good horses and men will be able to escape from the hands of the

[1] The reader may perhaps think the examples in this section somewhat objectionable; but they are intended to show the necessity of military exercises and qualifications, if we would be in a condition to defend ourselves against our neighbours.

enemy,[1] especially if the commander contrive to threaten the pursuers with that portion of his cavalry that has remained behind. 15. For this purpose, pretended ambushes are serviceable; and it will be useful for him also to discover at what point some of his own party may show themselves with safety so as to retard the course of the pursuers. 16. It is manifest, too, that where exertion and expedition are required, a smaller number will have the advantage over a larger, rather than a larger over a smaller; not that I say that the smaller number will be more efficient and expeditious because it is smaller, but that it is easier to find a small number who will take care of themselves and their horses, and who will practise horsemanship with skill, than a large one.

17. If it even happen that a commander has to contend with a body of cavalry exactly equal in number to his own, I think that it will not be amiss for him to form two troops out of each tribe, of which the phylarch may command one, and the other whosoever appears best qualified. 18. The latter leader may follow with his troop, for a time, at the rear of the troop under the phylarch; and when the enemy come close up, he may, at the word of command, ride forward to attack them; for by this method I think that they will cause more alarm to the enemy, and will be more difficult to withstand. 19. Should both the leaders also have infantry with them, and should these be concealed behind the cavalry, and, discovering themselves suddenly, close with the enemy, they seem likely to contribute much more by that means to secure a victory; for I see that what is unexpected, if it be good, gives people much more pleasure, and, if it is something formidable, causes them much more alarm. 20. This any person may very well understand, who reflects how much those are startled that fall into an ambuscade, even though they be much superior in numbers; and how much greater terror, when two armies are encamped opposite to one another, is felt during the first days after their meeting. 21. To order these matters, however, is not difficult; but to secure men who will act against the enemy with prudence, fidelity, zeal, and courage, requires great ability in a commander; 22. for he

[1] Ἐξ αὐτῶν.] Weiske suspects that χειρῶν, or some such word, has dropped out of the text.

ought to be qualified to speak and to act in such a manner that those who are under his command may feel convinced that it is advantageous for them to obey him, to follow him as their leader, and to engage the enemy under his direction, and that they may feel a desire for praise, and a resolution to persevere in whatever course they adopt.

23. If, on any occasion, when two camps lie face to face, or two fortresses belonging to the opposite parties, there occur returns to the charge,[1] and pursuits, and retreats[2] of the cavalry in the space between them, both parties are for the most part accustomed, in such cases, to advance slowly on returning to a charge, and then to ride over the intermediate space at full speed. 24. But if any commander, letting it be supposed that he will act thus, nevertheless, on wheeling about, charges with speed and retires with speed, he may thus, as is apparent, do most damage to the enemy, and consult best for his own safety, riding forward quickly while he is near the strength of his own side, and retreating quickly from before the strength of the enemy. 25. If he could contrive to leave unobserved,[3] too, four or five of the best horses and men of each troop, they would be of great weight in charging the enemy as they are returning to the attack.

CHAPTER IX.

Concluding remarks.

1. As to reading these precepts, it will be sufficient for a commander to peruse them but a very few times; but, in action, he ought to be constantly ready to take advantage of whatever opportunity may occur, and, looking to that which offers itself, to work out that which is expedient. To commit to writing everything that he ought to do is no more pos-

[1] *Ἀναστροφαί.*] A word used of those who, after fleeing before an enemy, turn upon their pursuers, and pursue them in return. *Weiske.*

[2] *Ἀναχωρήσεις.*] Applied to those who desist from a pursuit, and hasten to retreat to a place of safety. *Weiske.*

[3] That is, in ambuscade.

sible than to know everything that will happen. 2. Of all admonitions, however, the best seems to me to be, that whatever he discovers to be advantageous, he should take care that it be carried into execution; for neither in agriculture, nor in navigation, nor in military management, does accurate knowledge produce any effect, unless the possessor of it takes care that it be carried into practice.

3. I give it as my opinion, however, that the whole body of cavalry may, with the assistance of the gods, be kept up to the number of a thousand[1] with greater expedition, and with much more ease to the citizens, if they should admit two hundred foreign soldiers as mercenaries; as these, if united with the rest, seem likely to render the whole of the cavalry more obedient[2] and more emulous of one another in valour; for I know that the cavalry of the Lacedæmonians began to be distinguished when they admitted foreigners into it. 4. I see that in other states too, in all countries, foreign soldiers are held in much esteem; for necessity excites great zeal.[3]

5. For purchasing horses I consider that the citizens may secure funds from those who are strongly averse to cavalry service, (for persons of that character, on whom that service falls, will be willing to pay the cavalry-tax that they may be exempt from it,) and from other persons that are rich, but too weak for bodily exertion; and I think that contributions might be exacted from orphans[4] that have estates able to pay. 6. I am of opinion also, that if some of the metœcs were received into the cavalry, they would show a desire for distinction; for I see that in regard to other honours, of which the citizens allow them a share, some of them are ready, from a love of praise, to do whatever is required of them.

7. Infantry, too, in union with the cavalry, appears to me likely to be of great service, if it be composed of men determined to act against the enemy.[5] All these advantages may be secured with the aid of the gods.

[1] See c. i. sect. 2.

[2] More ready to obey the orders of the general, when they see the readiness to do so shown by the mercenaries.

[3] Since foreign soldiers, unless they exert themselves, will be dismissed from the service of their employers. *Sauppe.*

[4] Who were exempt from such tax, as appears from Demosth. de Symmor. [p. 163, 16, ed. Bekk.] *Schneider.*

[5] Τῶν ἐναντιωτάτων τοῖς πολεμίοις.] "Hommes décidés à vaincre ou à mourir." *Gail.*

8. If any reader is surprised at my frequent repetition that we must proceed WITH THE AID OF THE GODS, let him be assured that he will feel less surprise at this admonition, if he fall often into danger, and if he reflect that in time of war enemies often form designs on one another, but seldom know the state of things among the party against whom their designs are formed. 9. Such being the case, it is impossible to find to whom we may apply for counsel, except to the gods, who know all things, and who give intimations to whomsoever they please, by sacrifices, auguries, omens, and dreams. But it is probable that the gods will be more willing to afford counsel to those who not only ask them what they are to do when they need advice, but pay them honour, as far as they can, in time of success.

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REMARKS

ON

THE TREATISE ON HUNTING.

AT what period of his life Xenophon wrote this piece is uncertain, except that we may suppose it to have been written some time after his return from Asia with the Ten Thousand.

Valckenaer, De Aristobulo, p. 114, cited by Schneider, suspects that the catalogue of mythological and other personages in the first chapter, who are said to have profited so much by devotion to hunting, can scarcely be all genuine. To this suspicion Schneider was very ready to listen. But there is far more ground for believing that the thirteenth chapter, which consists chiefly of a series of weak and foolish assaults on the sophists, is spurious. Both the matter, and the manner in which it is expressed, are utterly unworthy of Xenophon. The rest of the work, though Schneider has some suspicion of the twelfth chapter, is probably genuine.

The first part, as far as the end of the eighth chapter, treats mostly of hare-hunting, and with such a thorough acquaintance with the subject, that Blane, hitherto the only English translator of the work, who, being a sportsman, deserves attention, says, "I have been indeed astonished, in reading the Cynegeticos of Xenophon, to find the accurate knowledge that great man had of the nature of the hare, and the method of hunting her; and to observe one of the finest writers, the bravest soldiers, the ablest politicians, the wisest philosophers, and the most virtuous citizens of antiquity, so intimately acquainted with all the niceties and difficulties of pursuing this little animal, and describing them with a precision that would not disgrace the oldest sportsman of Great Britain, who never had any other idea interfere to perplex his researches."

The rest of the treatise speaks of the hunting of deer, boars, and other larger beasts. His description of a snare for entangling the feet of deer, in the ninth chapter, is to us of modern days very obscure.

CYNEGETICUS,

OR

A TREATISE ON HUNTING.

Praise of hunting, as having its origin from the gods, and as having been of advantage to many eminent men who have cultivated it.

1. The invention of the art is from the gods ; for hunting and dogs were the care of Apollo and Diana, who rewarded and honoured Chiron with a knowledge of them on account of his regard for justice. 2. He, having received the gift, was delighted with it, and had as disciples, in this and other honourable pursuits, Cephalus, Æsculapius, Melanion, Nestor, Amphiaraus, Peleus, Telamon, Meleager, Theseus, Hippolytus, Palamedes, Ulysses, Menestheus, Diomede, Castor, Pollux, Machaon, Podalirius, Antilochus, Æneas, Achilles; each of whom, in his own day, received honour from the gods.

3. Nor let any one wonder that most of them, though they pleased the deities, nevertheless died ; (for this nature demands; but their great praises have been perpetuated ;) nor let any one feel surprised that their lives were not all of the same duration, since the life of Chiron was long enough for all of them.[1] 4. Jupiter and Chiron were brothers, sons of the same father ; but Jupiter had Rhea for his mother, and Chiron a Naiad nymph ; so that he was born before all of them, but did not die till he had brought up Achilles.

5. From their attention to dogs and hunting, and from their other accomplishments, they were admired as greatly excelling in merit. 6. Cephalus was carried off by a goddess ;[2]

[1] Πᾶσιν ἐζήρκει.] He lived so long that he was able to instruct them all. *Sturz, Lex. Xen.* [2] Aurora. Apollodorus, iii. 14. 3.

Æsculapius obtained higher distinction, that of raising the dead and healing the sick; and for these powers he receives immortal glory as a god among mortals. 7. Melanion attained such renown in bodily exercises, that he alone was deemed worthy of the high honour of a marriage with Atalanta, for which the most eminent men of that period were his rivals. The merit of Nestor has already pervaded the ears of the Greeks; so that, if I were to speak of it, I should speak to those who are well acquainted with it. 8. Amphiaraus, when he proceeded against Thebes, obtained the greatest praise, and received from the gods the honour of living for ever. Peleus inspired the gods with the desire of giving him Thetis in marriage, and of celebrating the marriage at the dwelling of Chiron. 9. Telamon became so eminent that he married Peribœa, the daughter of Alcathous, a native of the greatest of cities,[1] whom he courted; and when Hercules, the chief of the Greeks, distributed the prizes of valour after he had taken Troy, he assigned to him Hesione. 10. The honours which Meleager received are well known; and that he fell into misfortunes in his old age was not through his own fault, but through his father's forgetfulness of the goddess.[2] Theseus alone overthrew the enemies of all Greece; and, having greatly increased the power of his country, is held in honour even in the present day. 11. Hippolytus was honoured by Diana, and celebrated by general report, and died in happy estimation for his temperance and piety. Palamedes, as long as he lived, far surpassed the men of his age in wisdom; and, after being put to death unjustly, obtained more honour from the gods than any other among mortals. But he was not put to death by those by whom some suppose that he was; for it could not have been one[3] who was almost the best of men, and another[4] who was of a character with the good; but it was assuredly bad men that did the deed.

12. Menestheus, from his devotion to hunting, so far surpassed other men in endurance of toil, that the first among the Greeks acknowledged themselves inferior to him in military affairs, except Nestor alone; and he indeed is not said to have excelled, but to have rivalled him. 13. Ulysses and

[1] Fr. Portus supposes that Elis is meant; Brodæus, Athens. Brodæus's opinion, says Weiske, is countenanced by Pausan. I. 42, 1.
[2] Diana. [3] Agamemnon. *Weiske.* [4] Ulysses. *Weiske.*

Diomede were distinguished on particular occasions, and were on the whole the authors of the reduction of Troy. Castor and Pollux, through the esteem which they acquired from exhibiting in Greece such of the accomplishments as they learned from Chiron, are immortal. 14. Machaon and Podalirius, who were instructed in all the same accomplishments, were excellent in arts, and eloquence, and war. Antilochus, by dying for his father,[1] obtained such glory that he alone is called by the Greeks Philopator. 15. Æneas, by preserving his paternal and maternal gods,[2] and by saving also the life of his father, gained such renown for his filial piety, that the Greeks granted to him alone, of all that they took prisoners in Troy, exemption from being spoiled of his property. 16. Achilles, brought up in the same course of instruction, raised such illustrious and extraordinary memorials of himself, that no one is ever tired either of speaking or hearing concerning him.

17. All these men became such as they were from the instruction derived from Chiron; men whom the good still love, and the bad envy. If misfortunes happened, indeed, to any city or ruler in Greece, they [3] became its deliverers; or if a quarrel or war arose between the whole of Greece and the barbarians,[4] the Greeks secured the victory by means of these heroes; so that they rendered Greece invincible. 18. I therefore exhort the young not to despise hunting, or any part of liberal education; for by such means men become excellent in military qualifications, and in other accomplishments by which they are necessarily led to think, act, and speak rightly.

[1] Defending his father against Memnon, by whom Antilochus himself was killed, as appears from Pind. Pyth. vi. 28.

[2] Τοὺς πατρῴους καὶ μητρῴους θεούς.] By πατρῴους θεοὺς Weiske understands the Dii Penates; by μητρῴους, the statue of Vesta, with the sacred fire and the palladium. But there seems no reason why paternal and maternal gods should be regarded as meaning anything more than *dii domestici*.

[3] Referring to Hercules and Theseus.

[4] As the Trojan war.

CHAPTER II.

Qualifications necessary in the hunter and his net-keeper. Description of the nets to be used.

1. In the first place, then, it is proper for one who has just passed the age of boyhood to devote himself to hunting, and, in the next place, to other accomplishments; I mean, one who has fortune; but he must have regard to the extent of it; he who has a competency should pursue such exercises in proportion to the benefit which he may expect from them; he who has not, should at least show a desire for them, and neglect no part of them that is within his means.

2. With what preparations, and of what kind, he ought to come to the pursuit of hunting, I will mention, as well as what is necessary to be known in each particular matter, in order that he may not enter on the occupation without some previous instruction. Nor let any one imagine that the admonitions which I offer are trifling; for without attention to them nothing could be done.

3. It is necessary, then, that he[1] who has the care of the nets should be fond of his employment, should speak the Greek language, be about twenty years of age, active and strong in body, and possessed of sufficient courage, in order that, surmounting toil by means of these qualifications, he may have pleasure in the occupation. 4. The small nets, those for stopping roads, and the larger ones,[2] should all be made of fine flax from Phasis or Carthage. The nets should also be made of cord of nine threads; that is, of three strands, and each strand of three threads; they should be five spans[3]

[1] A slave who prepared the nets, and spread them.

[2] Three kinds of nets are here mentioned by Xenophon, the ἄρκυες, or small nets, the δίκτυα, or large nets, and the ἐνόδια, for stopping roads, paths, or frequented tracks, which appear to have been of an intermediate size, and which I shall henceforth call "road-nets."

[3] The spithame, or span, was about 9 inches. Hussey, Essay on Ancient Weights, &c. Append. sect. 9.

in depth, and two palms[1] at the running-nooses;[2] and let the cords that run round them be inserted without knots, that they may slip with ease. 5. The road-nets should be made of cord of twelve threads, and the large nets of cord of sixteen; as to size, the road-nets should be two, or four, or five fathoms in length; the large nets should be ten, or twenty, or thirty fathoms; if they be larger, they will be difficult to manage; both of them must have thirty knots,[3] and the size of the meshes must be the same as that of the meshes in the smaller nets. Let the road-nets have round knots at the upper extremities, and the larger nets rings; and the ropes[4] that run round them made of twisted cord. 7. Let the forked props for the small nets be ten palms in length,[5] some however less; (let such of them as are of unequal length be used on sloping grounds, that they may keep the tops of the nets straight, while those of equal length may be used on level ground;) they must allow the nets to be easily put off and on, and must accordingly be smooth at the tips. Let those for the road-nets be of twice that length, and those for the large nets five spans in length, having small forks, with notches by no means deep;[6] let them all be easy to fix, and

[1] The palm, four fingers' breadths, was about 3 inches. Xenophon means that the opening to receive the hare should be of that size, if the notion of the nets in the following note be correct.

[2] Τοὺς βρόχους.] The Rev. W. Dansey, in his Translation of Arrian on Coursing (Bohn, 1831), supposes that these βρόχοι were slip-knots, or running-nooses, at the entrance of a purse in the net, into which the hare, supposing it to be an opening by which she might escape, sprung, and became entangled. Notes on c. 1 and 2. See also Appendix, p. 191.

[3] How these thirty knots were reckoned, says Weiske, I cannot explain. The other commentators afford no help. I suppose that thirty knots means thirty meshes; for, counting the knots from edge to edge of the net, beginning with a knot at the corner of a half-mesh, the number of the knots will be the same as that of the meshes.

Et bis vicenos spatium prætendere passus
Rete velim, plenisque decem consurgere nodis. Gratius, Cyneg. v. 25.

[4] Μαστούς.] These μαστοὶ appear from Pollux, v. 4, to have been loops of cord, ἐκ λίνων πλέγματα, attached to the corners of the net. The name is rather an odd one, but is of course from the shape.

[5] About two feet six inches. This seems to be but a small height for the props, when the nets were to be three feet nine inches in depth. But all the copies agree in the same reading.

[6] Why this caution is given with regard to the longer more than to the shorter props, or why it is given at all, is not apparent. The notches, ἐντμήματα, are, as Weiske observes, the spaces between the prongs.

the thickness of them not disproportionate to the length. As to the number of props for the large nets, we may use either fewer or more; fewer, if they are much stretched in their position; more, if they are lax.[1] Let there also be sacks[2] made of calves'-skin, in which the smaller and larger nets may be put, a sack for each; and bill-hooks may also be put into them, that the hunter may cut down a portion of the wood, and stop up any part that may be necessary.

CHAPTER III.

Of the two principal sorts of dogs, and their faults.

1. Of dogs there are two kinds; the one called Castorian, the other of the fox breed.[3] The Castorian have this appellation, because Castor, who delighted in the amusement of hunting, had most regard for them; those of the fox breed were so termed because they are bred from a dog and a fox, and through length of time the natures of the two animals are completely amalgamated.

2. The inferior animals of these two species,[4] which are also the more numerous, are of the following sorts: such as are small, or have turned-up noses, are blue-eyed, near-sighted, ill-shaped, stiff, weak, have thin hair, are long-legged, not well proportioned, deficient in spirit or power of scent, or have bad feet. 3. The small, from their diminutiveness, often find

[1] For the upper edge of the net, as Weiske remarks, will, if it be but loosely stretched, sink down more than if it be tight, and will consequently require more props to keep it in a proper position.

[2] Sacks or bags drawn together at the mouth with strings. Pollux, v. 31.

[3] Weiske has a long Excursus on this passage, showing that there are more than two kinds of dogs, and questioning whether a dog and a fox will breed. John Hunter denied the possibility of it, as the dog and the fox are quite different species of animals; Philosoph. Transact. vol. lxxvii. p. 24; but he did not live to make the experiment which he intended. Pennant, in his "Quadrupeds," and Daniel, in his "Field Sports," are inclined to believe in the possibility, and each mentions a case, but not on his own knowledge. Xenophon is speaking of the two kinds of dogs adapted for hunting hares. Both were Spartan dogs.

[4] Sauppe very justly observes that πλείους and τοιαῖδε in the text refer to both the kinds of dogs previously mentioned.

their efforts in the chase fruitless; those that have turned-up noses are weak in the mouth, and are unable, for this reason, to hold the hare; the near-sighted and blue-eyed are imperfect in sight, as well as ill-shaped and unpleasing to the eye; such as are stiff in the frame come off ill[1] in the pursuit; such as are weak, and have thin hair, are unfit to endure fatigue; such as are long-legged, and ill-proportioned, have incompact frames, and run heavily; such as are deficient in spirit quit their work, shrink away from the heat of the sun into the shade and lie down; such as are wanting in scent hardly ever find the hare; and such as have bad feet are unable, even if they are ever so spirited, to endure the exertion, but faint away from pain in the feet.

4. Of tracking the hare there are many different modes among the same dogs; for some, when they have found the track, proceed onwards without giving any indication, so that it is not known that they are on the track; others merely move their ears, and keep their tail perfectly still; other keep their ears unmoved, but make a motion with the end of their tail. 5. Some, again, contract their ears, and, looking solemnly down on the track, pursue their way along it with their tails lowered and drawn between their legs;[2] many do none of these things, but run madly about the track when they have fallen upon it, barking and trampling out the scent in the most senseless manner. 6. Others, after making many turnings and windings, and getting an inkling of the scent in advance of the hare, leave her behind; whenever they run upon the track, they are never certain; and, when they see the hare before them, they give signs of fear, and do not advance upon her until they see her start. 7. Whatever dogs, again, in tracking and pursuing, run forward and watch frequently, at the same time, for what other dogs discover, have no confidence in themselves. Some, on the other hand, are so rash that they do not allow the experienced dogs of the pack to precede them, but keep them back with a disturbing noise. Others pounce on false scents, and, exulting in whatever they find, take the lead at once, though conscious that they are deceiving the rest; others do the same without being

[1] Fatigued and unsuccessful. *Weiske.*

[2] Σχάσασαι τὴν οὐρὰν καὶ φραξασαι.] *Retrahentes caudam atque inter crura condentes et continentes.* Budæus.

conscious of it. Such dogs are worthless, too, as never leave beaten tracks, and do not know the tracks proper to be followed. 8. Such dogs also as do not know the footsteps that lead to the hare's resting-place, and such as pass hastily over those which she makes in running, are not of a good breed.

Some start in pursuit of the hare with great speed, but relax for want of spirit; some run on,[1] and then miss the scent; others run senselessly into the public roads, and so lose it, and show the utmost reluctance to be recalled. Many, abandoning the pursuit, turn back through dislike of the hare; many, from longing for the society of their master. Some try to draw the other dogs from the track by yelping, making a false scent appear to be the true.[2] 10. There are some also, which, though they do not act thus, yet if, while they are running on, they hear a noise on any side, quit their own course, and start off foolishly towards it; for some run after anything in uncertainty, others fancying strongly that they are getting on a track, others imagining they have found one; some making a feint, while others maliciously quit the scent, though they are continually straying about close to it.

11. Dogs that have such faults, most of them perhaps from nature, but some from having been unskilfully trained, are of little service. Such dogs, indeed, may disgust people with hunting who have a strong turn for it. But of what description dogs of this species[3] ought to be, as to their shapes and other qualities, I will now proceed to show.

[1] Ὑποθέουσι.] "Run after other dogs." *Leunclavius.* "Cursu sequi." *Sturz, Lex. Xen.*

[2] Ἐκ τῶν ἰχνῶν κεκλαγγυῖαι, ἐξαπατᾶν πειρῶνται, ἀληθῆ τὰ ψευδῆ ποιούμεναι.] *Nonnullæ ex vestigiis latrantes abducere tentant, pro veris falsa simulantes.* Leunclavius. "Quelques-uns essaient de tromper en clabaudant hors de la passée, pour persuader qu'ils tiennent la véritable." *Gail.* Xenophon seems to attribute to dogs more cunning than they really possess.

[3] Τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους.] "Of this same species," that is, hunting-dogs.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the qualities necessary in dogs. Of the proper times for exercising them.

1. In the first place, then, they ought to be large ; and, in the next, they should have their heads light, short, and sinewy; the lower jaw muscular ; the eyes up-raised,[1] black, and bright; the face large and broad; the line dividing the eyes deep; the ears small, thin, and without hair on the back ; the neck long, flexible, and round ; the breast broad and not without flesh ; the shoulder-blades standing out a little apart from the shoulders;[2] the fore-legs small, straight, round, wiry; the knees straight;[3] the sides should not hang down very deep, but run along obliquely;[4] the loins should be fleshy [their size a medium between long and short], and not too soft or too hard ; the upper flanks something between large and small ; the hips should be round, fleshy towards the hinder part, not drawn together at the upper,[5] but closely joined within;[6] the part below the flank, and the lower flank[7] itself, should be loose; the tail long, straight, sharp-pointed ; the thighs firm ; the lower part of the thighs[8] long, full, compact;

[1] *Sint celsi vultus.* Gratius, Cyneg. v. 269.

[2] "Let dogs have shoulders standing wide apart, not tied together, but as loose and free from each other as possible," says Arrian, c. 5.

[3] The joints of the knee should not be prominent. Pollux, v. 10.

[4] The sides, says Pollux, v. 10, should not be *βαθυνόμεναι πρὸς τὴν γῆν*, not "hang deep down towards the ground." Nor, should they, says Xenophon, run parallel to the ground, but oblique to it, or forming an angle with it. So Appian, I. 408, praises *πλευρῶν ἐπικάρσια ταρσά. Et substricta gerens Sicyonius ilia Ladon*, Ov. Met. iii. 216. The words in brackets should probably be ejected.

[5] There should be "a broad space between the hips," says Markham, Country Contentments, B. I. p. 48.

[6] *Ἐνδοθεν δὲ προσεσταλμένα.*] *Coxas interius contractas.* Leunclavius. "Comme se rapprochant intérièrement." *Gail.* The two haunches should seem as it were firmly knit together.

[7] *Τὰ κάτωθεν τῶν κενεώνων*, &c.] "The terms *λαγόνες* and *κενεῶνες* are often confounded. Arrian and Xenophon use the term *λαγόνες* to designate (speaking anatomically) that part of the lumbar region behind the last or short ribs, where the kidneys are situate, the upper and anterior part of the flanks ; *κενεῶνες*, the lower and posterior part of the flanks." Rev. W. Dansey's translation of Arrian on Coursing (Bohn, 1831), c. 5, note. Weiske understands the words in a similar way.

[8] *Ὑποκωλια.*] *Partes femoribus subjectas.* Leunclavius.

the hinder legs much longer than those in front, and somewhat lean; the feet round.[1]

2. If the dogs be shaped thus, they will be strong, agile, symmetrical, swift; will have pleasing looks and good mouths. 3. They must, as they seek for scent, be easily called off from beaten tracks, sloping their heads down to the ground, looking cheerfully as they come upon the track, hanging down their ears, glancing quickly about with their eyes, and wagging their tails; and thus let them proceed, with many windings, along the track of the hare to the place where she lies. 4. When they come near the hare, let them make the fact manifest to the huntsman by moving about more quickly, signifying it also by increased ardour, by the motion of their heads, by their glances, by the change in their movements, by looking up, and looking onward to the seat of the hare, by jumping forward, and backward, and sideways, and by showing that they are really elated in their hearts, and rejoiced that they are close upon the hare. 5. They should pursue vigorously, and never relax, with great noise and barking, and turning in every direction with the hare,[2] [and should follow swiftly and unmistakeably, frequently winding about, and yelping only for good reason;][3] and they should never leave the track to return to the huntsman.

6. With this shape, and this action, they should be spirited, sound in the feet, keen-scented, and have good hair. They will be spirited, if they do not shrink from the chase even when the heat prevails; they will be keen-scented, if they smell the hare in bare, arid, sunny[4] places, when the sun[5] is high up in the sky; they will be sound in the feet, if their feet are not injured as they run over the mountains in the same season of the year; and they will have good hair, if they have it fine, and thick, and soft.

7. As to the colour of dogs, it should not be altogether

[1] "His round cat-foot, straight hams, and wide-spread thighs."
Somerville's Chace, B. I.

[2] The words in brackets have been suspected of being spurious. Dindorf retains them without any distinctive mark.

[3] Δικαίως.] This may be regarded as said in opposition to the remark about the deceitfulness of dogs in c. 3, sect. 9. *Sauppe.*

[4] For the heat of the sun dissipates the scent. *Zeune.*

[5] Τοῦ ἄστρου ἐπιόντος.] Brodæus supposed that by ἄστρον was meant the dog-star; but Zeune and Sturz very reasonably concur in thinking that it signifies the sun.

red, or black, or white; for such colours are not the signs of a good breed, but of a common and wild sort. 8. Such as are red or black should have white hair, and such as are white, red hair, growing about the face. On the upper part of the thighs they should have hair growing straight and long, as well as on the loins and at the extremity of the tail; at the upper part of the tail they should have but a moderate quantity of hair.

9. It will be proper to take out the dogs frequently over hilly grounds, and but seldom over cultivated fields; for on the hills they may track and pursue the hare without obstruction; but on cultivated lands they can do neither, on account of the paths.[1] 10. It is well, too, to take the dogs, even when they do not find the hare, over rough ground; for they thus strengthen their feet, and are also benefited by exercising their bodies over such land. 11. In summer they should be taken out till noon; in winter, through the whole day; in autumn, after noon; in spring, before evening; for these are the times when the temperature is moderate.

CHAPTER V.

Of the tracks, scent, and habits of hares.

1. THE tracks of the hare are long in winter, on account of the length of the nights;[2] in summer they are short, for the contrary reason. In winter, too, there is no scent from them in the morning, whenever there is hoar frost or ice;[3] for the hoar frost, by its influence, draws the heat into it and retains it, while the ice congeals it. 2. Those dogs, accordingly, which have dull noses, are unable to scent the track when there is such weather, until the sun, or the advance of the

[1] As the beaten tracks or paths are apt to draw them off the scent and mislead them. See Ælian, Hist. An. xiii. 24.

[2] As the hare has then time to go over much ground.

[3] Πάχνη ἢ παγετός.] *Pruina* and *gelu* are the significations given to these words by Zeune; and Schneider concurs with him. Some editors have been in doubt respecting them.

day, relaxes the frost and ice; and then the dogs can smell, and the track itself, while it sends up a vapour, gives forth also a scent. 3. Much dew, too, dulls the scent by keeping it down;[1] and rains, which fall after long intervals, raise odours from the ground, and render the track of the hare difficult to scent, until they are dried up.[2] Southerly winds also make the scent fainter, for they spread moisture through the air; but northerly winds fix the scent, if it has not previously been dispelled,[3] and preserve it. 4. Rains, in general, and dews drown it; and the moon dulls it by her warmth,[4] especially when it is full. Scent, indeed, is then most scarce; for the hares, pleased with the light, and jumping up, as they sport with one another, place their steps at long intervals. Scent is perplexed, also, when foxes have crossed the ground previously.

5. The spring, from the temperature of the weather, renders the scent exceedingly clear, unless perchance the ground, where it is covered with flowers, may inconvenience the dogs, by mingling the odour of the flowers with that of the hare. In summer it is weak and uncertain; for the ground, being warm, absorbs the warmth which the scent has, and which is but slight; while the dogs have at that time less power of smelling, because their bodies are relaxed. In the autumn the scent is clear; for of the productions which the earth yields, those which are cultivated have been then gathered in, and the wild have withered away; so that the odours of the plants do not trouble the scent by mingling with it. 6. The tracks, also, in winter and summer, as well as in autumn, are mostly straight; but in spring they are perplexed; for the animals, which are indeed perpetually coupling, couple most at this season, and hence, by straying about with one another hither and hither, they necessarily produce this inconvenience.

7. From the steps which a hare takes in going to her

[1] Καταφέρουσα.] *Deprimendo, supprimendo.* Zeune.

[2] ψυχθῇ.] *Exsiccetur.* Leunclavius.

[3] Ἐὰν ᾖ ἄλυτα.] The cold attendant on the north-wind fixes the scent, if the violence with which it blows has not previously dissipated it. I follow Weiske in the interpretation of *ἄλυτα*.

[4] The ancients supposed that a portion of gentle heat proceeded from the moon, as appears from Plutarch, Q. N. c. 24; Sympos. iii. 10; Aristot. Gen. Animal. iv. 10; Macrob. Saturn. vii. 16.

resting-place there arises a stronger scent than from those which she takes in running away from it; for those which she takes in going thither are made at a slower and irregular pace,[1] those which she takes in running from it, at a quicker; the ground is accordingly saturated with the scent of the one, but is not even filled with that of the other.

The scent is stronger, likewise, on wqody than on bare ground; for the hare, as she runs about, and occasionally rests, touches many objects. 8. Hares sink down on whatever the earth produces or has on it, under all kinds of things, or above them, or among them, or close by them, or at some distance, great or small, from them or within them;[2] sometimes springing, too, as far as they can, over the sea, or into water, if there be anything rising above it or growing on it. 9. The hare, when it wishes to settle, makes its nest, for the most part, in warm spots, when it is cold; when it is hot, in shady ones; in spring and autumn, in places exposed to the sun: those that are unsettled may act otherwise, from being scared by dogs. 10. As it reclines, it draws the inner part of the thighs[3] under its flanks, putting the fore-legs together, for the most part, and stretching them out, resting the chin on the tips of the feet, and spreading the ears over the shoulder-blades; by which means it covers the soft parts of the neck;[4] and it has also its hair as a protection, being thick and soft. 11. When it is awake, it winks with its eyelids; but when it is asleep, the eyelids are raised and fixed, and the eyes continue unmoved; also, while asleep, it moves its nostrils frequently, but when not asleep, less often.

12. When the ground is giving forth herbage, the cultivated plains attract the hare more than the hills. It stops, when it is tracked, in any place whatever, unless it be excessively frightened at night; when it is thus affected, it hastens off to other parts. 13. It is so prolific an animal, that when the female has brought forth, she is ready to bring forth again,

[1] Ἐφισταμένος.] *Interdum subsistens.* Schneider.

[2] Μεταξὺ τούτων.] *Intra easdem res*, so that the hare sits upon the bare ground, but sheltered on all sides by the objects with which she is surrounded. *Weiske.*

[3] Ὑποκώλια.] *Partes femorum interiores.* Zeune.

[4] Τὰ ὑγρά.] That is, the back parts of the neck, which are soft and tender. *Brodæus.* "The tender parts." *Blane.*

and is at the same time conceiving a third brood.[1] From the young hares there is more scent than from the full-grown; for, as their limbs are weak, they drag them all along upon the ground. 14. The very young ones the huntsmen let go, from respect to the goddess.[2] Those that are a year old run their first heat with great speed; the others not so swiftly, for, though they are nimble, they are not strong.

15. To find the track of the hare, it is necessary to take the dogs by the parts above the cultivated grounds;[3] (such of the hares as do not come into cultivated lands betake themselves to meadows, glades, banks of streams, rocks, or woods;) and if the hare move, we must take care not to cry out, lest the dogs should be startled,[4] and find a difficulty in following the track. 16. When they are discovered by the dogs, and pursued, they sometimes cross over brooks, and double, and slink away into clefts and tortuous hiding-places; for they fear not only dogs, but also eagles, since, as they pass over flat slopes and open places, they are frequently carried off by them, whilst they are under a year old. The older ones the dogs pursue and carry off.

17. Those that frequent the hills are the swiftest, those in the plains are less so, and those that are about marshy grounds are the slowest. Those that wander over all sorts of ground are more difficult to pursue, for they know the short cuts; and they run chiefly up slopes or along level spots; over unequal ground they run irregularly, and least of all down-hill.

18. When they are pursued, they are seen best on land that is turned up, if they have a little redness of colour;[5] and they are also seen well on stubble, by the light reflected on them;[6]

[1] Superfœtation is attributed to hares by many writers of antiquity, as Aristot. Hist. An. iv. 5; Ælian, Hist. An. ii. 12; Herodot. iii. 108; Pliny, H. N. viii. 55; and Sir Thomas Brown, in his Vulgar Errors, bears testimony to it from his own observation.

[2] Diana.

[3] He means that we are to send the dogs down into the fields from the higher grounds. *Sauppe.*

[4] Ἐκφρονες.] Blane renders the word, "being made too eager." Leunclavius, "attonitæ."

[5] Xenophon speaks of some being of a yellowish colour, sect. 22.

[6] Ἀναύγειαν.] *Splendoris reflexionem.* Leunclavius. The light reflected from the stubble or straw on the hare. Suidas speaks of light being thus reflected from snow, v. ἀναυγεῖς.

they appear very plain, too, along paths and roads, at least such as are level; for the bright hue of their hair strikes the eye; but when they run away among stones, and hills, and rocky and woody ground, they are not easily perceived, on account of the similarity of the colour.

19. When they are in advance of the dogs, they will stop and squat down, and then raise themselves up to listen whether any barking or noise of dogs is near them; and, on whatever quarter they hear any, they turn away from it. 20. Sometimes, also, when they hear none, but fancy or are persuaded in themselves that they hear some, they run repeatedly by and over the same ground, varying their steps, and making track upon track. 21. Those make the longest runs which are found on open grounds, from the view being unobstructed; those run the shortest distance which are started from woody places, as the obscurity is a hindrance to them.

22. There are two sorts of hares; for some are large and blackish, and have a great deal of white in the face; while others are smaller and somewhat yellow, and have but little white. 23. Some have the tail varied with rings of different colours; others have it streaked.[1] Some have the eyes greyish, others somewhat blue. In some the black at the tips of the ears spreads over a large space; in others, over but a small one. 24. The lesser sort most of the islands contain, as well the desert as the inhabited; and they are more numerous in the islands than on continents, for there are in most of them neither foxes, which attack and destroy both them and their young ones, nor eagles, which large mountains rather than small produce, and the mountains in islands are generally of the less elevated sort. 25. Hunters, too, come but seldom into desert islands; and on those which are inhabited there are but few people, and comparatively few of them given to hunting; while into the sacred islands it is not lawful even to transport dogs. Since, therefore, the inhabitants hunt but few of those which exist, and which are constantly multiplying, there must be a great number of them.

26. The hare has not a keen sight, for many reasons; for

[1] Παράσειρον.] *Albedine insignem longiore spatio.* Leunclavius. "An den Seiten weiss." *Lenz.* "Auf den Seiten der Länge nach gestreift." *Christian.*

it has its eyes prominent, and the eye-lids small, affording no protection for the eye-balls; and their sight is on this account dim and dispersed.[1] 27. In addition to this, the animal, being much given to sleep, is by that means not improved in its sight.[2] The swiftness with which it runs, too, tends greatly to trouble its vision; for it turns off its eyes from objects before it can perceive what they are. The terror from the dogs, likewise, following upon it with them when it is chased, deprives it of all power of foresight; and hence it runs against many objects, and falls into nets, before it is aware. 29. If it ran, however, straight onwards, it would but seldom meet with such mishaps; but, as it winds about, and feels an attraction towards the place in which it was born and bred, it is consequently captured. Yet it is not often captured by the dogs by speed of foot; but such as are caught are caught in spite of their natural conformation, and under the influence of chance; for of all animals that exist, no one of the same size is equal to the hare in swiftness; such is the nature of the parts of which its body is composed.

30. It has a head light, small, looking downwards, and narrow in the forepart; a neck slender, round, not stiff, and of a proper length; shoulder-blades straight, and not contracted at the top;[3] the legs joined to them, light and well attached;[4] the breast not heavy with flesh;[5] the sides light and symmetrical; the loins agile; the hams fleshy; the flanks yielding and sufficiently loose; the hips round, full everywhere, and separated above by a proper interval; the thighs long, of due thickness, tense on the outside, and not turgid within; the hind legs long and firm; the fore feet extremely flexible, narrow, and straight;[6] the hind ones firm and broad; all the

[1] Because, according to Xenophon's notion, the eyes, from being prominent, emit rays in all directions, dispersing or diffusing them. *Weiske.* This was probably the notion of the ancients in general about this matter.

[2] The eyes not being sufficiently exercised.

[3] Comp. c. 4, sect. 1.

[4] Στῆθος οὐ βαρύτονον.] Weiske supposes οὐ βαρύτονον to be equivalent to οὐ βαρέως κάτα τεῖνον, "not drawing down heavily," or to the term which Pollux uses in speaking on the same subject, οὐ σαρκώδες.

[5] Ὑποκώλια.] This word seems to mean here, all the part between the hams and the feet. Comp. sect. 10.

[6] Σύγκωλα.] *Partibus bene junctis.* Leunclavius. *Compacta.* Philelphus.

feet caring nothing for rough ground; the hind legs much thicker than the fore ones, and bending a little outwards; the hair short and light. 31. Accordingly it is impossible that an animal composed of such parts should not be strong, agile, and extremely nimble.

That it is nimble we have sufficient proof; for when it goes along quietly, it proceeds by leaps; no man has ever seen it, or ever will see it, walking; but, putting the hind feet in advance of the fore feet, and on the outside of them, it springs forward. This is plainly seen by the marks which it makes on the snow. 32. It has a tail, however, not very conducive to speed; for it cannot steer the body on account of its shortness; but the animal produces this effect by the alternate action of the ears, continuing it, even when it is on the very point of being caught by the dogs; for, lowering one ear, and turning it obliquely on the side on which it is threatened with annoyance, it first sways itself in that direction,[1] and then turns off suddenly in the other, and leaves its pursuers behind in a moment.

33. It is so pleasing an animal, that no one who sees it, whether when it is tracked and discovered, or when it is pursued or caught, would not forget whatever other object he admired.[2]

34. In hunting on cultivated grounds, the huntsman must abstain from injuring the fruits of the season, and must leave springs and streams[3] undisturbed; for to interfere with these is contrary to propriety and morality, and it is to be feared that those who see such proceedings may set the law at defiance.[4]

[1] *Ἀπερειδόμενος δὴ εἰς τοῦτο ὑποστρέφεται.*] There has been much doubt about the sense, as well as the reading, of these words. I have given them that interpretation which seems to be required.

[2] *Ἐπιλάθοιτ' ἂν εἰ τοῦ ἐρᾴη.*] "On this point alone I cannot agree with my namesake. I allow indeed that a man may forget every other object of which he is enamoured, when he sees a hare found and pursued at speed; but to see her taken is, I own, neither a pleasant nor striking spectacle; but disagreeable rather, and not at all likely to make us forgetful of other objects of attachment. Yet we must not blame Xenophon, considering he was ignorant of greyhounds, if even the capture of a hare appeared to him a grand sight." Arrian, c. 17, Dansey's Translation.

[3] Because fountains and streams were regarded as sacred, says Blane. No commentator has found a better reason.

[4] Xenophon exhorts hunters to do no injury to the fruits of the earth, and not to violate the sanctity of springs and rivers, lest others should

When it is not a time for hunting,[1] it will be proper to remove[2] all the hunting implements.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the equipment for dogs, § 1. Of the management of the dogs, and time for hunting, 2—4. Of the net-keeper, 5—10. Of the hunter's dress and modes of proceeding, 11—26.

1. THE equipments for dogs are collars,[3] leashes, and girths.[4] Let the collars be soft as well as broad, that they may not wear off the dog's hair. Let the leashes have loops for the hand attached to them, but nothing else; for those who form the collars out of the leashes[5] do not manage well for their dogs. Let the girths have broad bands, that they may not gall their flanks; and let there be iron points stitched into them, that they may protect the breeds.[6]

2. But it is improper to take dogs out to hunt, whenever they do not readily take the food that is put before them, as this is a sufficient indication that they are out of health; or whenever the wind blows very strong, as the wind scatters the scent, and the dogs are unable to catch it, nor will the nets, either small or large, stand. 3. When neither of these obstacles presents itself, however, we should take them out every third day.

Foxes we should not accustom the dogs to hunt, for it is a

be led by their example to pay less respect to law and custom. So Weiske and Portus understand the passage.

[1] *Ἀναγρία.*] On festival days, I suppose, on which it was forbidden by law to hunt. *Weiske.* Sauppe agrees with him.

[2] *Ἀναλύειν.*] *Refigere.* That is, if Weiske's notion of *ἀναγρία* be right, we must not leave even the nets standing on festival days.

[3] *Δέραια.*] *Δέραιον* is *ἱμὰς πλατὺς περὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ*, "a broad strap about the neck." Pollux, v. 55.

[4] *Στελμονίαι.*] Girths or broad belts passing round from the collar on each side the body to protect it, as well as for the purpose mentioned at the end of the section. Pollux, v. 55. "Surcingles to guard the body." *Blane.*

[5] That is, make the leash and collar out of one piece of leather. We can hardly conceive how so foolish a practice could have been adopted.

[6] *Ὡς μὴ ὀχεύοιτο ἡ κύων,——τοῦ μὴ ὑποπλησθῆναι ἐξ ὀγεινῶν χάριν.* Pollux, v. 55.

great means of spoiling them, and they lose their readiness to follow where you require.[1]

4. You should take them to hunt on different grounds at different times, in order that they may experience varieties in the chase, and that you yourself may become acquainted with the country. You should go out with them in the morning, that they may not fail of finding the track; for those who go out late deprive the dogs of all chance of finding the hare, and themselves of all profit from their efforts; for the consistence of the scent, which is very subtle, does not remain the same throughout all the hours of the day.[2]

5. Let the attendant that has charge of the nets go out to hunt in a dress that is not at all heavy; and let him fix the nets about passages[3] that are rough, sloping, open, or dark, and about brooks, glades, or waterfalls that are constantly running down ravines (for it is in such places that the hare mostly seeks refuge; to how many others she may flee it would be endless to specify); 6. and let him set them at tracks that run along by these or across them, whether they be plainly marked or scarcely perceptible, placing them at dawn and not earlier, lest, if the part where they are fixed be near the hunting-grounds, the animal may be frightened at hearing the noise. Should the two places, however, be at a considerable distance from each other, that circumstance will put less restraint on those who clear the place for fixing the nets, that nothing may interfere with them.[4]

[1] Ἐν τῷ δίοντι.] When you want them to hunt the hare, they are ready to be drawn away by the scent of a fox, if it cross their path.

[2] Seneca, Hippol. 41:

Dum lux dubia est, dum signa pedum
Roscida tellus impressa tenet.

Nemesian, v. 324:

Venenum, dum mane novum, dum mollia prata
Nocturnis calcata feris vestigia servant.

Gratius, v. 223:

Primæ lucis opus; tum signa vapore ferino
Intemerata legens.

So Apol. Rhod. v. 111. *Sauppe.*

[3] Δρόμους.] Openings or paths where the hare runs, or is likely to run.

[4] There is some difference among the editors as to the collocation and connexion of some words here; I have deserted Dindorf and followed Sauppe.

7. He who has the management of the nets should fix the props sloping forward,[1] that when they are pulled they may offer resistance.[2] Let him put the loops uniformly on the tops,[3] and fix the props regularly, putting the higher ones towards the centre of the hollow part of the net. 8. To the end of the rope that runs round the net let him attach a long large stone, in order that the net, when it has caught the hare, may not be pulled in the contrary direction. Let him carry his nets in a long range, as well as have them high, that the hare may not leap over. In tracking the hare, he should make no delay;[4] for it is sportsman-like, as well as a proof of fondness for exertion, to use every means to capture the animal speedily.

9. The larger nets let him fix on level spots, and road-nets at the roads, stretching them from the roads in proper directions,[5] attaching the ropes that run round the nets to the ground, bringing the extremities together,[6] fixing the stakes between the edges,[7] putting the ropes running at the top of the net on the points of them, and stopping up the intervals.[8] 10. Let him then walk round and keep watch; if any stake or net give way, let him put it up; if the hare is pursued towards the nets, let him allow her to go straight forward, and then run after and shout; and when the hare has fallen into the nets, let him check the impetuosity of the dogs, not by touching them, but by calling to them; and let him

[1] Towards the hare. *Weiske.* That is, towards the quarter from which the hare is likely to come towards the net.

[2] That they may be less likely to be pulled over when the hare runs into the net and struggles to extricate herself.

[3] An equal number of loops or meshes on each prop. *Schneider.*

[4] The soundness of the text in this passage is very doubtful. Ὑπερβάλλεσθαι, or ὑπερεμβάλλεσθαι, most of the interpreters translate by *morari.*

[5] Ἐκ τῶν τριμμῶν εἰς τὰ συμφέροντα.] *Opportunis extra ipsos tramites locis.* Leunclavius. This seems to be the only true interpretation of these words. Weiske would have them signify "at the parts meeting from paths," i. e. at places where two or more paths meet, and he is followed by the Latin translator in Didot's edition of Dindorf. Schneider objects to Weiske's notion.

[6] Bringing the extremities of the net at the top towards one another, so that the net may form part of a circle; or, as Sauppe thinks, connecting the extreme edges of two nets.

[7] These, apparently, must be the edges of two nets meeting.

[8] Τὰ παράδρομα.] Any openings by which the hare might run past.

signify to the huntsman, by crying out, that the hare is taken, or that it has gone by on this or that side, or that he has not seen it, or where he saw it.

11. The huntsman should go out to the chase in a plain light dress, with shoes of a similar description, and with a thick staff in his hand; the man who manages the nets should follow him; and they should proceed to the hunting-ground in silence, lest the hare, if she happen to be near, should run off on hearing their voices. 12. Having tied the dogs to trees, each separately, that they may be easily unfastened, let them fix the smaller and larger nets, as has been said; and then let the net-keeper continue on the watch, while the huntsman takes the dogs and proceeds to bring the prey towards the net.[1] 13. Next vowing to Apollo and to Diana the Huntress to offer them a share of what is captured, let him loose that one of his dogs which is most skilful in tracking; and let this be done, if it is winter, at sunrise; if summer, before day-break; and at other seasons between the two. 14. When the dog, out of all the tracks that intersect one another, has found the right one, let the hunter set loose another dog, and when this one has gained the track, let him loose the others one by one at no long intervals, and follow them, not urging them, but calling each by name, yet not frequently, lest they should be excited before the proper time. 15. The dogs will hasten forward with joy and spirit, discovering two or three tracks, as the case may be, proceeding along and over them, as they intersect, form circles, run straight or winding, are strong or weak, recognised or unrecognised; the animals passing by one another, waving their tails about incessantly, hanging down their ears, and casting bright gleams from their eyes. 16. When they are near the hare, they will make it known to the huntsman by shaking not only their tails but their whole bodies, advancing as it were with hostile ardour, hastening emulously past each other, running resolutely in concert, coming quickly together, separating, and again advancing, till at last they will hit upon the hare's hiding-place, and rush towards her. 17. She, starting up suddenly, will raise behind her, as she flees, a loud barking and clamour from the dogs; and then let the men call after her, as she is

[1] Εἰς ὑπαγωγὴν τοῦ κυνηγεσίου.] *Ad lepores callidè inducendos.* Weiske.

pursued, "Forward, dogs, forward! Right, dogs! Well done, dogs!" and then let the huntsman, wrapping his cloak round his hand,[1] and taking his staff, run along the track of the dogs toward the hare, taking care not to come in the teeth of them, for that would perplex them.[2] 18. The hare, retreating and soon getting out of sight, will in general come round again to the place from which she was started. The huntsman must cry, "Upon her, boy, upon her! Now boy, now boy!" and the boy must intimate whether she is caught or not. If she is caught in the first run, he must call in the dogs, and seek for another; if not, he must still run on with the dogs with all possible speed, not relaxing, but hurrying forward with the utmost exertion. 19. If the dogs, as they pursue, fall in with her again, he must shout, "Well done, well done, dogs! Follow, dogs!" and if the dogs get far before him, and he is unable, pursuing their track, to come up with them, but misses the way which they have taken, or cannot see them, though they are straying about somewhere near, or yelping, or keeping on the scent, he may, as he runs on, call out to any one that he meets, and ask, "Have you seen my dogs anywhere?" 20. When he has discovered where they are, he may, if they are on the track, go up to them and encourage them, repeating, as often as he can, the name of each dog, and varying the tones of his voice, making it sharp or grave, or gentle or strong. In addition to other exhortations, he may, if the pursuit is on a hill, call out thus, "Well done, dogs! Well done!" but if they are not on the track, but have gone beyond it, he must call to them, "Come back, come back, dogs!" 21. After they have come upon the track, he must lead them round,[3] making many and frequent windings; and wherever the scent is obscure, he ought to take a stake as a mark for himself,[4]

[1] "Ο ἀμπέχεται.] "That with which he is clad," i. e. his outer garment. For a protection against the dogs, as it would seem. Pollux, v. 3, speaking of hunting the larger beasts, says that the hunter "must wrap his cloak round his hand, when he has to pursue or contend with them."

[2] Ἄπορον γάρ.] *Periculosum enim est.* Leonicenus. *Difficultatem afferat.* Stephanus. "The hare would in that case be turned aside or driven off." *Weiske.*

[3] "If the dogs are anywhere at fault," says Gratius, ver. 221, "the hunter makes a wider circuit, and, when they have found the true scent, pursues it directly."

[4] Σημεῖον θέσθαι στοῖχον ἑαυτῷ.] It is quite uncertain what is the sig-

and draw the dogs round by this, cheering and soothing them, until they plainly recognise the track. 12. They, as soon as the track is clear, will throw themselves forward, and leap from side to side, will seem to have a common feeling, and to be forming conjectures, making signs to one another, and fixing as it were recognised bounds for themselves,[1] and will start forward quickly in pursuit; but while they thus run hither and thither over the track, you must not urge them or run on with them, lest through eagerness they should go beyond it. 13. But when they are close upon the hare, and make it plain to the huntsman that they are so, he must take care lest through fear of the dogs she dart off in advance. The dogs themselves, whisking about their tails, running against and frequently leaping over one another, yelping, tossing up their heads, looking towards the huntsman, and intimating that these are the true tracks of the hare, will rouse her of themselves,[2] and spring upon her with loud cries. 14. Should she run into the nets, or flee past them, whether on the outside or the inside, let the net-keeper, who is stationed at each of these parts, call out that such is the case. Should the hare be captured, the huntsman may proceed to seek another; if not, he may still continue to pursue her, using the same incitements to the dogs as before.

15. When the dogs are tired with running, and it is late in the day, the hunter may still continue to seek[3] for the hare, which will also be tired, leaving nothing unexamined of all that the earth produces or has upon it, making frequent turnings about, that the animal may not escape him (for it lies in a small space, and sometimes shrinks from leaving it through weariness and terror), leading forward the dogs, animating them, cheering such as are docile with many words of en-

nification of στοῖχος in this passage. Schneider supposes Xenophon to mean, that the hunter should keep one of the props of the nets in his eye, as the point round which he is to bring the dogs. Leunclavius renders στοῖχος by *indago*, or the whole range of nets. Blane has, "draw the dogs along by the nets."

[1] For they return from time to time to the place where the scent is strong, and from thence commence the pursuit, as it were, anew. *Weiske.*

[2] Ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἀναστήσουσι τὸν λαγῶ.] *Leporem ultro excitabunt.* Leonicenus and Leunclavius. *Per se ipsas leporem excitabunt.* Lat. vers. in Didot's edition of Dindorf's text.

[3] Supposing he has been unsuccessful.

couragement, such as are intractable with but few, and such as are of an intermediate character with a moderate number, until he either kill the hare by tracking it, or drive it into the nets. 16. When this is done, let him take up his nets, small and large, and, after having rubbed down the dogs, quit the hunting-field, stopping occasionally, if it be noontide in summer, that the dogs' feet may not become sore on the way.

CHAPTER VII.

Of breeding and training the dogs.

1. In the winter it is proper to let the females rest from labour, and to attend to breeding, that, from enjoying repose, they may produce a stout offspring towards the spring; for that season is particularly favourable for the growth of dogs. During fourteen days the want of the male[1] affects them. 2. It is proper to take them to vigorous dogs after their ardour is somewhat remitted,[2] that they may conceive the sooner, and, while they are pregnant, not to take them out to hunt constantly, but only at intervals, lest they should miscarry from too much exertion. They go with young sixty days.

3. When the puppies are born, we must leave them with the mother, and not put them to another dog; for the nurture of strange dogs does not sufficiently contribute to growth; but the milk and breath of their mothers is good for them, and their caresses pleasing.

4. After the puppies are able to run about, we must give them milk for a year, with those sorts of food on which they are to live always, and nothing else; for much over-feeding of puppies distorts their legs, and produces diseases in their

[1] Ἡ ἀνάγκη αὕτη.] *Impetus ad Venerem.* Weiske.

[2] Καταπαυομένας.] Weiske supposed that these words meant *requiescentes à coitu, interposito justo temporis spatio.* But Schneider, with greater reason, understands τῆς ἀνάγκης, and makes the sense *cum paullatim remisit ardor libidinis*, an interpretation fully supported by Aristotle, H. A. vi. 20. Weiske's interpretation is at variance, as Sauppe observes, with what Aristotle says in the same passage, κύισκεται δὲ κύων ἐκ μιᾶς ὀχείας.

bodies; and their interior parts are thus rendered unsound.

5. We should give them short names, that it may be easy to call them. They ought to be such as these: Psyche,[1] Thymus,[2] Porpax,[3] Styrax,[4] Lonche,[5] Lochos,[6] Phrura,[7] Phylax,[8] Taxis,[9] Xiphon,[10] Phonax,[11] Phlegon,[12] Alce,[13] Teuchon,[14] Hyleus,[15] Medas,[16] Porthon,[17] Sperchon,[18] Orge,[19] Bremon,[20] Hybris,[21] Thalion,[22] Rhome,[23] Antheus,[24] Hebe,[25] Getheus,[26] Chara,[27] Leusson,[28] Augo,[29] Polys,[30] Bia,[31] Stichon,[32] Speude,[33] Bryas,[34] Œnas,[35] Sterrhos,[36] Crauge,[37] Cænon,[38] Tyrbas,[39] Sthenon,[40] Æther,[41] Actis,[42] Æchme,[43] Noes,[44] Gnome,[45] Stibon,[46] Horme.[47]

6. We must not take the female puppies out to hunt till they are eight months old, or the male till they are ten. The huntsman must not set them loose on the track to the hare's form, but, keeping them tied with long straps, must let them follow the dogs that are scenting the hare, allowing them to run along the track. 7. When the hare is found, if they be well qualified by nature for running, he must not let them loose at once, but must wait till the hare has got in advance, so that they can no longer see her, and then let them go. 8. For if he lets loose immediately dogs that are well qualified by nature, and full of spirit, for running, they will, as soon as they see the hare, use such exertion as to injure themselves, as their frames are not yet strong; and against such mishaps the huntsman must be on his guard. 9. If, on the contrary, they be but poorly qualified for running, there is nothing to hinder him from letting them go at once; for, as they will be hopeless at first of overtaking the hare, they will do themselves no such mischief.

The tracks which the hare leaves as she runs, he may allow

[1] Spirit. [2] Courage. [3] Shield-hasp.
[4] Spike (at the lower end of a spear-handle). [5] Lance.
[6] Ambush. [7] Guard. [8] Keeper. [9] Order.
[10] Darter. [11] Barker. [12] Fiery. [13] Strength.
[14] Active. [15] Search-wood. [16] Plotter.
[17] Ravager. [18] Speed. [19] Passion. [20] Roarer.
[21] Audacious. [22] Cheerful. [23] Might.
[24] Flowery. [25] Youth. [26] Joyous. [27] Gladness.
[28] Looker. [29] Bright-eyes. [30] Stout. [31] Force.
[32] Goer. [33] Swift. [34] Lively. [35] Reveller.
[36] Stubborn. [37] Yelper. [38] Killer. [39] Bustler.
[40] Vigorous. [41] Sky. [42] Ray. [43] Spear.
[44] Marker. [45] Prudence. [46] Tracker. [47] Eager.

the young dogs to follow until they overtake her; and when she is caught, he may give her to them to tear to pieces.

10. When they are no longer willing to stay by the nets, but scatter themselves about, he must call them in until they are trained to find the hare by running after her, lest, from perpetually going in quest of her without regard to order, they become at last untrainable;[1] a result of the worst kind. 11. It is proper accordingly to give them their food at the nets, as long as they are young, when the nets are taken up, that if they should stray away in the hunting-field for want of knowing what they are about, they may be recovered through returning to that spot.[2] They will no longer require this care when they begin to have a hostile feeling towards the beast that they hunt, and are prompted to think more of their prey than of their ordinary food.

12. It will be well for the huntsman, in general, to give the dogs their food himself; for though, when they are in want, they do not know who is the cause of it, they conceive an affection for him, who, when they are eager to receive it, gives it them.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of hunting hares in winter.

1. It is proper that hares should be tracked, when snow has fallen in such a quantity that the ground is hidden; for if black spots appear on the surface, the animal will be difficult to trace. When there has been snow, and the north wind blows, the tracks are visible for a long time;[3] but if the

[1] Ἔκκυνοι.] A sportsman's term for dogs that will not be kept to one scent, but are perpetually wandering and searching about. Comp. ἐκκυνοῦσι, c. 3, sect. 10.

[2] Πρὸς τοῦτο.] *Ad istum locum.* Schneider.

[3] Τὰ ἴχνη ἔξω πόλυν χρόνον δῆλα.] Portus translated ἔξω by ἐξέχοντα, *eminentia;* Weiske saw the absurdity of doing so, and observed that marks of footsteps do not *stand out* from the ground, but *sink into* it; he then read τὰ ἔξω ἴχνη, and interpreted *vestigia posteriorum pedum*, as being more deeply impressed than those of the fore-feet. But why τὰ ἔξω ἴχνη should signify marks of hind-feet more than of fore

wind be southerly, and the sun also shines, they are to be seen but a short time, as they soon melt away. While snow continues to fall, it is of no use to attempt to track the animal, for the snow covers the traces; nor is it of any use if the wind be strong, for it effaces them by throwing up the snow.

2. We must never go out to hunt with dogs, therefore, under such circumstances; for the snow parches the noses and feet of the dogs, and carries off the scent of the hare from excessive cold.

But the hunter may take his nets and go out with a comrade to the hills, at a distance from the cultivated grounds, and, when he has found traces of the hare, may follow them. 3. If they should be perplexed, he must go back on the same track, and still keep along it, making circuits so as to go round the whole of it seeking whither it finally leads; for the hare frequently wanders hither and thither, hesitating where it shall settle itself; and it is accustomed also to be very artful in going about, from being constantly pursued by its footsteps. 4. When the track shows itself plainly, the hunter may proceed straight forwards; and it will lead him either to a shady or to a steep place, because the wind carries the snow over such spots. The hare therefore leaves many places in which she might sit, and seeks for one of this kind. When the footsteps lead to such places, he must not approach too near, lest the hare should start, but make a circuit round about; for it is to be expected that a hare is there; and it will presently become certain, since there will be no track from such spots leading out in any other direction. When it is clear that the hare is there, he may let her alone (for she will not move), and seek for another, before the footsteps are obliterated, having regard to the time of day, in order that, if he find others, there may be time enough left for putting round the nets. 5. If such is the case, he must stretch the nets round each of the hares in the same way as on the dark

ones, he does not explain. Schneider supposes that ἔξω means *out of the snow*, or on the black ground; but whom will this satisfy? Leunclavius's version gives nothing more than *vestigia diu manifesta extant*. On the whole, it appears that it is impossible to make anything plausible of ἔξω, and that it would be well for future editors to expunge it or put it in brackets. Gail takes no notice of it in his version, and I have fol'owed his example in mine.

soil, so that he may catch whatever hare they are near within them; and when they are fixed, he must go and rouse the hare. If she escapes from the net, he must run after her on her track; and she will betake herself to other similar spots, unless she chance to bury herself in the snow. He must accordingly ascertain where she is, and place the nets round her. Should she make no stay in any place, he must continue the pursuit; since she will be captured even without the assistance of the nets; for she soon grows weary from the depth of the snow, and the great quantity of it which attaches itself to her feet, which are hairy underneath.

CHAPTER IX.

Of hunting deer.

1. FOR hunting fawns and stags Indian dogs[1] should be used; for they are strong, large, swift, and not deficient in courage; and, having these qualities, are able to endure fatigue. The very young fawns[2] we should hunt in the spring, for it is in that season that they are born. 2. The huntsman should first go into the grassy glades, where the deer are most numerous, and survey the ground; and, wherever they are seen, he should come to that spot with his dogs and spears before daybreak, and should tie the dogs to the trees at some distance off, lest, if they should see the deer, they should begin to bark; and he himself should keep on the watch. 3. At dawn he will see the hinds bringing each her young one to the place where she is going to have its bed. Having lain down, and given their young ones suck, looking round, at the same time, lest they should be seen by any one, they will go off severally to the parts opposite their young, still keeping watch over them. 4. The huntsman, on seeing them in this

[1] For some further description of these, see Aristotle, H. A. viii. 28; Ælian, H. A. viii. 1; Pollux, v. 37, 43.

[2] Xenophon recommends above, c. 5, sect. 14, that we should spare the young of the hare for a year. Why did a man of such tender feeling not show the same consideration for young deer? *Schneider.*

condition, must go and let loose his dogs, and, taking his spears in his hand, must advance towards the first of the fawns, at least to the part where he has seen it lying, taking careful note of the ground; for places often assume a different appearance as a person draws near them from that which they presented when he was at a distance. 5. When he has caught sight of the fawn, he must go close to it; for it will remain quiet, crouching[1] as it were down upon the ground, and will let the huntsman take it up, making at the same time a loud noise, unless it be wet with rain; since, if such be the case, it will not lie still, as the moisture which it has in it, being condensed by the cold, will soon make it move off.[2] 6. But it will be caught by the dogs, which will pursue it with vigour; and when the huntsman has got possession of it, he must give it to the net-keeper; it will utter a cry, and the hind, seeing and hearing what is going on, will rush upon the man that holds it, and endeavour to take it from him. 7. At this junction the huntsman must cheer on the dogs, and use his spears; and when he has captured this animal, he may proceed to take others, adopting the same means for getting possession of them.

8. The very young fawns may be taken thus; but those that are well grown give some trouble; for they feed with their dams and other deer, and run off, when they are pursued, in the midst of the herd, or sometimes in advance of it, but very rarely in the rear. 9. The hinds, acting in defence of them, trample down the dogs, so that they are not easily taken, unless the hunter rushes straight in among the herd, and separates them from one another, when one of the young may be left behind by himself. 10. When the herd is thus violently scattered, the dogs will be left behind at the first run after the fawn; for the desertion of the other deer will render it excessively timid, and the swiftness of fawns of that age is beyond all other swiftness; but at the second or third run they are soon taken, as their bodies, from being still tender, are unable to bear up under fatigue.

[1] Πιέσας ὡς ἐπὶ γῆν.] Πιέζειν is here used for πτήσσειν or πτώσσειν. *Schneider.* Compare ἐὰν μὴ—πιέσῃ ἑαυτόν, c. 8, sect. 8. *Sauppe.*

[2] Xenophon supposes that the moisture in the fawn's body, being condensed by the coldness of the rain, will increase the timidity of the fawn; fear being attributed by Aristotle and others to coldness of blood. See Aristot. De Part. Anim. i. 4. *Schneider.*

11. Snares are also set for deer on hills, or about meadows and streams, as well as in woods and paths and in cultivated grounds, wherever they are in the habit of going. 12. These snares should be made of twigs of yew twisted, with the bark not taken off,[1] lest they should grow rotten; and should have the crowns[2] circular, and the studs made of iron and wood alternately, inserted in the circle, the iron ones being the larger, that the wooden ones may yield to the feet, and the others press it. 13. Such a snare should have the noose of the rope which is to be fixed on the crown made of twisted hemp, as well as the rope itself; for this material is least likely to become rotten; and let the noose, as well as the rope, be strong. Let the piece of wood which is suspended to it be of common or scarlet oak, with the bark on, three spans[3] in length, and one palm[3] in thickness. 14. The hunter must fix these snares by opening the ground to the depth of five palms; and this opening must be round, and even at the edge with the crowns of the snares, and growing gradually narrower below;[4] he must also open a portion of the ground for the rope and the wood, as deep as it is necessary for both to be buried. 15. When he has done this, he must put the snare over the opening, sinking it to a depth equal with the surface, and put the noose of the rope round the crown, letting down the rope itself and the wood each into its own place; he must put twigs of

[1] Μὴ *περιφλοίους*.] Περίφλοιος is generally interpreted, "with the bark on," as Sturz interprets it in his Lexicon, *non deliboratus, cortice munitus;* but here it must surely mean "with the bark off," or the *μὴ* before it must be expunged. In the next section it is used in the sense of "with the bark on," as may be seen by comparing sect. 18.

[2] Τὰς *στεφάνας εὐκύκλους*.] The *στεφάνη* seems to have been at the upper part of the snare or trap, but nothing else is discoverable respecting it; nor does it seem easy to understand the use of the studs or knots of iron and wood mentioned in connexion with it. Indeed nothing more is clear concerning the instrument, than that it was a machine partly buried in the ground to catch deer by the feet. I shall translate the description of it as faithfully as I can, and if my reader form from it any fair conception of the contrivance, he will have gained that which I have not gained myself. Pollux, v. 32, gives a similar account of the *ποδοστράβη* to that which is given by Xenophon, but throws no more light on it.

[3] See note on c. 2, sect. 4.

[4] Εἰς *δὲ τὸ κάτω ἀμειβόμενον στενότητι*.] *Inferius subinde angustiorem.* Leunclavius. Or, as Portus explains it, "corresponding in roundness below to the part above, but becoming narrower," or decreasing in circumference.

thorn over the crown, not sticking out above the surface, and upon the twigs some dry leaves, such as the season may afford. 16. After this he must strew upon the leaves a portion of the earth taken from the surface[1] of the parts that have been dug, and upon this some solid earth brought from a distance, in order that the position of the snare may be concealed as much as possible from the deer; and what remains of the earth he should carry off to a distance from the snare, for if the animal finds by the smell that it has been recently disturbed (and this it soon does), it becomes suspicious.

17. The huntsman must then keep watch with his dogs by the snares that are placed[2] on the hills, especially in the morning; and he may do so during the rest of the day; on cultivated grounds he should be on the look-out before daybreak; for on the hills the deer are caught not only during the night, but also in the day, because such places are unfrequented by man; but in cultivated grounds they are caught during the night, as they are afraid of men there during the day. 18. When he finds the snare turned up, he must let loose his dogs, and pursue, cheering them on, along the track of the wooden clog, observing carefully whither it leads. In general it will not be difficult to trace, for the stones will be up, and the scratches of the clog will be very plain on cultivated ground; if the animal however runs through rough places, the rocky parts will have portions of the bark stripped from the clog adhering to them, and thus the pursuit will be rendered easier. 19. Should the deer have been caught by the fore-foot, it will be very soon secured; for the clog, as the animal runs, will strike against its whole body and face;[3] but if it be caught by the hind-foot, the clog, as it is dragged along, will impede the motion of its whole body. Sometimes the clog, too, will catch itself in forked branches of the wood, and the deer, unless it break the rope, will be caught there. 20. Should the huntsman capture it in this way, or by overcoming it with fatigue, he must not, if it be a male, approach near it, for it

[1] As the earth on the surface will differ very much in smell and appearance from that which has been recently turned up. *Weiske.*

[2] Ἐστώσας.] Understand ποδοστράβας, not ἰλάφους with Leunclavius. *Schneider.*

[3] Ἐν γὰρ τῷ δρόμῳ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα τύπτει καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον.] *Nam lignum inter currendum corpus totum et ora percutit.* Leunclavius. "Le bois lui blessera tout le corps et la face." *Gail.*

will strike out with its horns and feet, but must spear it from a distance. They may be caught, if pursued in summer-time, even without a snare; for they become so excessively exhausted that they stand still, and may then be killed with spears. If they are hard pressed, and reduced to extremity, they will throw themselves into the sea, or any other water; and sometimes they fall down through want of breath.

CHAPTER X.

Of hunting boars.

1. FOR the wild boar it is necessary to have Indian, Cretan, Locrian, and Spartan dogs; with nets, javelins, spears, and snares. As to the dogs of this sort, they must not be ordinary ones, that they may be fit to contend with the wild beast. 2. The nets must be of the same cord as those for hares; but let the cords consist of forty-five threads in three strands, each strand being made of fifteen threads. Let there be ten meshes[1] in depth from the edge, and the depth of the nooses[2] a pygon.[3] Let the ropes that run round the net be half as thick again as the cords of the nets; let the nets have rings at the extremities; and let the ropes be inserted under the nooses, and the ends of them come out through the rings. Fifteen nets will be sufficient.

3. As to the javelins, let them be of all kinds, having the points of considerable breadth, and sharp as a razor, and the handles strong. The spears should have heads of the length of five palms, and in the middle, where the iron is inserted into the wood, guards jutting out, formed of the metal, very stout; and let them have handles of corneil wood, of the thickness of an ordinary spear. The snares should be similar

[1] Δεχάμματοι.] "Ten knots," i. e. "ten meshes." See note on c. 2, sect. 5.

[2] Nooses through which the animal thrust its head, and was caught by the neck. Pollux, v. 28.

[3] The distance from the elbow to the first joint of the finger, or 1 foot 3·168 inches, English measure. Hussey, Ancient Weights, &c., Appendix.

to those for deer. But let the hunters go in company; for the animal is not to be captured without difficulty, and the assistance of many hands. How it is necessary to use each of these implements in hunting, I will show.

4. In the first place, then, when the hunters have come to the place where they suppose that there is a boar, they must bring up the dogs quietly, letting one of the Spartan dogs loose, and keeping the others tied, and go round about the place with the loose dog. 5. When this dog has found traces of the boar, they must continue their course along the track, which is to guide the whole train.[1] There will also be many indications of the boar to guide the huntsmen; marks of his footsteps on soft ground; pieces of the shrubs broken off in the woody parts; and where there are large trees, scratches of his tusks upon them. 6. The dog, pursuing the track, will generally come to some woody spot; for the animal commonly lies in such places, as they are warm in winter, and cool in summer. 7. When it comes to the beast's lair, it begins to bark; yet the boar will seldom rise on that account. It will be necessary, therefore, to take the dog and tie him up with the others at some distance from the lair, and stretch the nets at the entrance to the thicket, hanging the meshes upon the forked branches[2] of the wood; and it will be proper, at the same time, to spread the net in a circuit extending outwards to some distance, placing branches of trees as supports on each side within, in order that the rays of light may penetrate through the meshes as much as possible into that circuit, and that the part within it may be as clear as possible for the animal when he rushes toward the nets. The rope that runs round the nets they ought to attach to a strong tree, and not to bushes; for bushes give way[3] on open ground.

[1] Ἡγουμένῃ ἀκολουθίᾳ.] These words have afforded much work for the commentators, and are perhaps in some way corrupt. But, as they stand, the only method in which they can be explained is by considering ἡγουμένῃ as agreeing with ἰχνεύσει, which precedes it, and as governing ἀκολουθίᾳ, which follows it; ἀκολούθια being taken in the sense of *comitatus*, "train, following."

[2] Ὀρμους.] *Erectos sylvæ stipites bifidos.* Leunclavius.

[3] Συνέχονται.] Various interpretations of this word have been proposed, as well as various emendations. The only reasonable explanation of which it seems susceptible is, "come together, give way, yield," as bushes will do on "open ground," that is, where there are no strong trees to support them.

About[1] each net they must stop up even the less open passages[2] through the thicket, that the boar may rush straight into the nets, without turning aside from them.

8. When the nets are fixed, let them return to the dogs and set them all loose, and, taking their javelins and spears, go forward themselves. One of the most experienced of the hunters should cheer on the dogs; and the rest should follow in order, but at some considerable distance one from another, that a passage of sufficient breadth between them may be left for the boar; for if, as he makes his retreat, he should rush in among a number of them, there is danger that they may be wounded; since against whomsoever he runs, upon him he vents his rage. 9. When the dogs come near the beast's lair, they will make a start forward; the boar, being disturbed, will spring up, and whichever of the dogs happens to meet him face to face, he will toss him into the air, and, running forwards, will fall into the nets; or, if he does not, the hunters must pursue him. Should the ground, on which the net catches him, be sloping,[3] he will soon rise; should it be level, he will keep himself on his feet, intent on saving himself. 10. At this juncture the dogs will press forward; and the hunters, keeping on their guard against him, must throw their javelins at him, and pelt him with stones, gathering round behind him, and at a considerable distance, until, by pushing himself forward, he pulls down the rope that runs round the net to its utmost stretch; and then, whoever among the company is the most skilful and the most vigorous, must go up to him and spear him in the fore part of the body. 11. But if, notwithstanding he is struck with javelins and stones, he will not stretch the rope, but draws back, and makes a turn upon any one that comes near him, one of the hunters must in that case take his spear and go up to him, holding it with the left hand on the fore part, and the right on the hinder; for the left directs it, and the right impels it; and let his left foot be in advance corresponding with the left hand, while the right is behind in accordance with the other hand. 12. As he advances, he must present the spear, with his feet

[1] Ὑπὲρ.] "Circa, prope, ad." *Weiske.*

[2] Τὰ δύσορμα.] Even passages through which the boar does not usually go out and in must be stopped, lest he make his way out by them to avoid the nets. *Sauppe.*

[3] So that the boar falls.

not much farther apart than in wrestling, turning the left side forward towards the left hand, looking straight into the very eye of the boar, and watching every movement of his head. As he holds out his spear, he must take care lest the boar, by turning his head aside, wrest it out of his hand; for he will follow up the charge after it is thus wrested. 13. Should he have this misfortune, he must throw himself flat upon his face, and cling to whatever substance is below him; for, if the boar fall upon him in this position, he will be unable to seize his body on account of his tusks being turned up;[1] but if he attack him standing erect, he must necessarily be wounded. The boar will accordingly endeavour to raise him up; and if he cannot do so, will trample upon him with his feet. 14. When he is in this perilous condition, there is but one mode of delivering him from it, which is, for one of his fellow-hunters to come up close to the animal with his spear, and irritate him by feigning to throw it; but he must not throw it, lest he should hit his companion who is on the ground. 15. When the boar sees him doing this, he will leave the man whom he has under him, and turn with rage and fury on the one who is provoking him. The other must then jump up, but take care to do so with his spear in his hand; for there is no honourable[2] way of saving himself but by overcoming the boar. 16. He must therefore present his spear in the same manner as before, and thrust it forwards within the shoulder-blade, where the throat[3] is, and must hold it firm and press against it with all his might. The boar will advance upon him courageously, and, if the guards of the spear did not prevent him, would push along the handle of it until he reached the person holding it. 17. Such is his vigour that there is in him what no one would suppose; for so hot are his tusks when he is just dead, that if a person lays hairs upon them, the hairs shrivel up; and when he is alive, they are actually on fire whenever he is irritated; for otherwise he would not singe the tips of dogs' hair when he misses inflicting a wound on their bodies.[4]

[1] Τὴν σιμότητα τῶν ὀδόντων.] *Dentes sursum tendentes.* Zeune.

[2] For he must not, with his spear in his hand, desert his companion, as Weiske observes.

[3] Σφαγή.] It is the throat or windpipe that is meant, as appears from Pollux, ii. 133.

[4] Pollux, v. 80, gives the same account, both as to the shrivelling of hair and the singeing of the dogs.

18. The boar is caught after giving such, and often still more, trouble. But if it be a sow that falls into the net, the hunter must run forward and strike it, taking care however that he be not pushed down; for, if he should have this misfortune, he will necessarily be trampled upon and bitten. He must not therefore fall willingly; but if he should happen to fall unwillingly, his mode of rising must be the same as in the case of the boar.

19. They are caught also in the following manner. Nets are stretched for them in passages through the forests, in thickets, winding valleys, and rough grounds, where there are outlets to grassy spots, and marshes, and waters. He that is appointed for this duty guards the nets with a spear in his hand. Others bring up the dogs, looking for the most eligible places; and, when the boar is found, he is at once pursued.

20. Should he fall into the net, the net-keeper must take up his spear, and use it in the way which I have described; if he does not run into the net, he must hasten after him. He may be caught also, when it is hot weather, by being pursued by the dogs; for though he is an animal of vast strength, yet he soon becomes exhausted from shortness of breath. 21. Many dogs, however, are killed in such chases, and the hunters themselves are in peril. But when, in the pursuit, they are compelled to present their spears to the boar as he is in the water, or has retired to some steep place, or is in a thicket from which he is unwilling to come out, though, in such a case, there is neither net nor anything else to prevent him from rushing immediately on the person who approaches him, they must nevertheless advance upon him, and show that courage by which they were induced to engage in such toils for the gratification of their propensity. 22. They must use their spears, and such bodily efforts as have been described;[1] for then, if any one of them suffers any hurt, he will not suffer it for want of acting rightly.

Snares are set for them just as for deer, in the same places; and the same modes of watching, pursuing, approaching them, and using the spear are adopted. 23. Whenever their young ones are taken, they do not allow themselves to be captured without difficulty; for they do not stray about alone, as long

[1] Sect. 16.

as they are small; and when the dogs find them, or they foresee any danger, they soon disappear among the wood. Both the old ones also generally follow them, which are then very fierce, and fight more resolutely for them than for themselves.

CHAPTER XI.

Of hunting lions, leopards, and other wild beasts.

1. LIONS, leopards, lynxes, panthers, bears, and other wild beasts of that description, are caught in foreign parts; some about the mountains Pangæus and Cittus beyond Macedonia, others about Olympus in Mysia, others on Mount Pindus, others on Nysa beyond Syria, and upon other mountains which are suited for breeding such animals. 2. Some of these beasts, on account of the difficulty of approaching their abodes, are taken by means of the drug called aconite, which the hunters throw in their way about the banks of streams, and whatever other places they frequent, mixing it with whatever each of the animals likes to eat.[1] 3. Some of them also are captured as they come down into the plains in the night, being intercepted by the aid of horses and armed men, but not without bringing those who take them into danger. 4. For some of them, again, they make pit-falls, round, large, and deep, leaving in the middle a pillar of earth, upon the top of which they put a goat, tied fast, towards night; they also hedge the pit-fall round with wood (leaving no passage through), in order that the animals may not see over[2] into it. Hearing the bleating of the goat during the night, they run round about the hedge, and, when they find no inlet, leap over it and are caught.

[1] According to Pollux, v. 82, the drug causes diarrhœa, which so weakens the beasts that they are at length captured. Pliny alludes to the same practice, H. N. viii. 27.

[2] Περιοράν.] Weiske makes a difficulty as to the beasts seeing in the night; but it is supposed that beasts of prey can see better in the night than men can.

CHAPTER XII.

Hunting, an introduction to military exercises and service, rendering men abler defenders of their country. Its moral effects.

1. CONCERNING the modes of proceeding in the chase I have now spoken. Those who are fond of the pursuit will receive many benefits from it; for they will secure health for their bodies, greater keenness of sight and hearing,[1] and a later old age. 2. It is also an excellent preparation for the toils of war; for, in the first place, when hunters march under arms through difficult roads, they will not faint, but will endure the toil from being accustomed to such exertion in capturing wild beasts. They will likewise be able to sleep on hard couches, and will be excellent guardians of what is intrusted to them. 3. In marches against the enemy they will both be in a condition to pursue their course, and to do what they are ordered, because they are used to similar exertions in capturing beasts of prey. If they are placed in the front of the army, they will not leave their posts, as they are well qualified for persistence. 4. In a rout of the enemy, they will pursue them straight onwards, and with safety, over every sort of ground, from being familiarized to such exercise. If their own army experience misfortune, they will be able, in places that are marshy, or precipitous, or otherwise difficult, to save themselves, as well as others, without dishonour; for their practice in such exertions will supply them with greater knowledge than those around them. 5. Such men, even when a great number of their allies have been put to flight, have renewed the contest, and by their well-exercised strength and courage have repulsed the enemy, who were led into error by the difficulties of the ground; for it belongs to those who have their bodies and minds in good condition to be always near to good fortune. 6. Our ancestors also, knowing that from such causes they had been successful against their adversaries, paid great attention to the exercises of the youth; for though they had in early times no abundance of the fruits of the ground, yet they did not think proper to hinder the young men from

[1] Ὀρᾶν καὶ ἀκούειν μᾶλλον.] "Ils auront la vue meilleure, l'oreille plus sensible." *Gail.*

hunting over anything that grows upon the earth. 7. In addition, they decreed that they should not hunt in the night within a great number of stadia from the city, lest those who were skilled in the art[1] should take from them their prey; for they saw that this one pleasure of youth was productive of many advantages to them, as it renders them prudent and just, from being brought up in real action;[2] 8. while, if they wish to pursue other honourable occupations, it does not draw them away from them, as other pleasures, of a vicious kind, do; pleasures in which they ought not to engage.

9. From men thus exercised, therefore, are formed good soldiers and good leaders; for those from whose minds and bodies toil has eradicated unbecoming and licentious inclinations, and infused into them a desire of virtue, are the most excellent of citizens, since they will neither allow their metropolis to be wronged, nor the lands of their country to be laid waste.

10. Yet some say that people ought not to cherish a love of hunting, lest they should neglect their domestic affairs; but such persons do not know that all who benefit their country and their friends are most attentive to their domestic affairs; 11. and if, accordingly, those who are fond of hunting prepare themselves to be useful, in the most important particulars, to their country, they will not be neglectful of that which concerns themselves; for whatever belongs to each individual citizen stands or falls with the state; so that citizens thus qualified preserve the property of other individuals as well as their own. 12. But many of those who make such observations would rather, from being rendered unreasonable through envy, perish in their own indolence, than be preserved by the honourable exertions of others; for most pleasures have a pernicious influence, and, being overcome by them, they are incited to take the worse course, in their words and actions, instead of the better. 13. Hence they bring on themselves, from foolish words, enmities, and, from ill conduct, diseases

[1] The older and more experienced hunters.

[2] Διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ παιδεύεσθαι.] Not *in umbratică disciplinâ*, says Sauppe, where they learn only by verbal precepts, but in the open field of life and action.

A few words immediately following, which refer to war, but which are only a repetition of what has been said before on that subject, and are thought spurious by most editors, are not translated.

and punishments, as well as death to themselves and their children and their friends, being insensible to the evil that they were incurring, but having a keener inclination for pleasures than other men ; and who can make indulgence in pleasure turn to the benefit of his country ? 14. From these evils, however, every one will be free, who loves what I recommend, since good training teaches men to observe the laws, and to speak as well as to hear, with a regard to what is just. 15. Those who make it their study, accordingly, to be continually labouring and learning something, choose toilsome pursuits and cares for themselves, but secure safety for their own communities ; but those who decline to be taught anything, because it is laborious, and prefer to spend their lives in improper pleasures, are characters of the very worst nature.

16. They obey neither the laws nor good admonitions; for, as they shrink from every effort at improvement, they gain no conception what a man of virtue ought to be ; so that they can neither be pious nor wise, but, consigning themselves to ignorance, inveigh greatly against those who are learned. 17. By means of such men, therefore, nothing can be made to prosper, as everything advantageous to mankind is found out by better men than they ; and the better are those who are willing to exert themselves. 18. This has been demonstrated by strong proof ; for, among the ancients, those who studied under Chiron, and whom I mentioned before, began their exercises when they were young, with hunting, and became masters of many noble qualifications, whence great honour was paid to them for their virtue, for which they are even to the present day held in admiration.

That all men have a love for such virtue is evident, but, because it is possible to attain it only by labour, the greater part of mankind shrink from the pursuit of it; and the attainment of it is indeed uncertain, while the exertions attendant on the pursuit of it are manifest. 19. Perhaps, however, if Virtue could be seen bodily, men would be less neglectful of her; knowing that they would be seen by her as she would be seen by them; 20. for every one, when he is in the sight of the object of his love, conducts himself better than at other times, and neither does nor says anything unbecoming or wrong, lest it should be seen by that object. 21. But men, thinking that they are not seen by Virtue, because they do not see her,

commit many wicked and dishonourable acts without disguise;[1] yet she is in reality present everywhere, as she is immortal, and honours those who act rightly towards her, and casts dishonour on those who act wrong. Could they feel assured, then, that she sees them, they would devote themselves to those labours and studies by which she is, though with difficulty, captivated, and would secure her favour.

CHAPTER XIII.

A chapter on the vanity and empty professions of the sophists; not written, in all probability, by Xenophon.

1. But I wonder at those men who are called sophists, because the most of them say that they lead mankind to virtue, while in reality they lead them in a contrary direction; for we have nowhere seen any man whom the present race of sophists have rendered virtuous; nor do they offer any writings to the world by which people may be made virtuous. 2. But concerning frivolous subjects many treatises have been written by them, from which empty amusement for the young may be derived, but in which there are no precepts of virtue; treatises which cause useless consumption of time to those who vainly hope to learn something from them, detaining them from other more profitable occupations, and even teaching them what is bad. 3. I blame them, then, for their more grave offences[2] more severely; but as to what they write, I say that their words are studied with the utmost care, but that moral principles, by which youth may be formed to virtue, are nowhere to be found in them. 4. I indeed am no extraordinary person, but I know that while it is best to be taught what is good by nature herself, it is next in desirableness to be instructed by those who really know something of goodness rather than by such as understand merely the art of deceiving. 5. My words, perhaps, I may not use with the art of the sophists, for I make it not my object to do so; but the instructions which those need who are rightly trained to

[1] Ἐναντίον, *palam*, "openly."

[2] Vices, offences against morality in their lives, appear to be meant.

virtue I try to express with proper understanding of them; for mere words cannot afford instruction,[1] but thoughts may, if they be of a right kind.

6. Many others also blame the sophists of the present day (I do not say the philosophers), for showing their acuteness in words and not in thoughts. It does not escape my consideration that it would be well for what I write to be arranged in proper order, for it will be easy for them to find fault with what is written hastily as not being written elegantly; 7. it is written however in such a way that it may express what is right, and may make men, not sophistical, but wise and good; for I do not wish it merely to seem, but to be good, that it may remain irrefutable for ever. 8. The sophists, on the contrary, speak and write only to deceive, and for their own gain, and profit nobody in any way; for no one of them has ever been, or is, wise; but each of them is content with being called a sophist, which is but a term of reproach among the right-thinking part of mankind. 9. Against the precepts of the sophists, therefore, I exhort the young to be on their guard, but not to undervalue the instructions of the philosophers; for the sophists hunt for the rich and young; but the philosophers are the common teachers and common friends of all. The fortunes of men they neither esteem nor contemn.

10. I exhort the young, also, not to emulate those who hastily seek their own aggrandisement, whether in private or in public affairs, reflecting that while the best of them are known to their honour, and are industrious, the bad meet with ill fortune, and are distinguished to their disgrace; 11. for, robbing individuals of their property, and embezzling the money of the public, they are less profitable to the common welfare than persons in a private station, while they have their bodies in the very worst and most disgraceful condition for war, being utterly incapable of any exertion. But hunters, on the contrary, present alike their bodies and their property in excellent condition for promoting the common good of their countrymen. 12. Hunters attack beasts of prey; the other sort of people attack their friends. Those who act against their friends incur infamy among all men; hunters, from pursuing wild beasts, gain great honour; for, if they

[1] Xenophon would surely not have expressed himself thus.

capture the beasts, they subdue enemies; and, if they do not, they nevertheless receive praise, not only because they assail animals that meditate mischief to the whole community, but because they proceed against them neither to the injury of any man nor for their own private gain. 13. Besides, by the exercise itself they are rendered better, for many purposes, as well as wiser, by the causes which I shall specify. If, in the first place, they did not highly excel in activity, and contrivances, and vigilance, in various ways, they would gain no booty; 14. for their adversaries, fighting for their lives, and in their own retreats, are in full force; so that the toil of the hunter would be in vain, if he did not subdue them with greater perseverance and with much intelligence. 15. Those who wish, then, to gain a superior station in the state, meditate how to overcome their friends; the hunters, how to overthrow common enemies. The exercise of the hunters makes them better men for other opponents; the practice of the other sort of people much worse men; the prey of the one is gained in conjunction with wisdom, that of the other with disgraceful audacity. 16. The one can despise mean practices and dishonourable gains, the other cannot; the one utter a voice expressive of good, the other, of turpitude; the one show themselves pious in the highest degree, the other feel nothing to restrain them from acting impiously towards all the divinities.

17. Tales of old times are in circulation, which say that the gods delight in the pursuit of hunting, both as actors and as spectators; so that the young, reflecting on this, may be both lovers of the gods and pious in their conduct, at least those who observe the admonitions which I give, and think that what they do is seen by some one of the deities; and they will then be a benefit to their parents, their country in general, and every one of their fellow-citizens and friends. 18. Not only indeed have men who have been fond of the chace obtained an honourable character, but also women to whom the goddess Diana has given excellence in the pursuit, as Atalanta, Procis, and some others.

FRAGMENTS OF LETTERS OF XENOPHON,

FROM STOBÆUS.

FROM A LETTER TO ÆSCHINES.[1]

1. HERMOGENES, happening to meet me, told me some other things, and, as I asked him about you, what system of philosophy you followed, he replied, the same as Socrates. 2. But even when you were living at Athens, I admired your judgment; and as I began to admire you then, so also now I admire the unshaken firmness of your mind above any of those that have embraced the pursuit of wisdom; for it is, as I consider, the greatest proof of virtue, that you have been attracted by that man, if indeed people thought[2] the life of Socrates that of a mortal man.

3. That there are divine beings over us is manifest to every one; and it is enough for us to worship them for the superiority of their power; but of what nature they are, it is neither easy to find, nor dutiful to inquire; for it does not belong to slaves to understand the nature and conduct of their masters, as their sole business is to serve; 4. and, what is the most remarkable, the more admiration we must bestow on those who labour for the interests of mankind, the more blame is attached[3] to those who aim at getting reputation

[1] Stobæus, Tit. 80. 12. It is also to be found in Eusebius, Præp. Evan. xiv. 12.

[2] Ἡγοῦνται.] This word is probably corrupt. Leunclavius conjectured ἡγεῖταί τις, which, says Weiske, is, if not the happiest of conjectures, better certainly than ἡγοῦνται.

[3] The text is here apparently corrupt or defective. Leunclavius reads τόσον τόδε for τοσῷδε, which furnishes a nominative case for φέρει, and makes the sense "the more blame this attaches," &c., ἄχθος, as Weiske observes, having apparently the force of ψόγος. This section is supplied from Eusebius, being omitted by Stobæus.

from improper and worthless objects. 5. For when, my dear Æschines, did any one ever hear Socrates discoursing about the heavenly bodies,[1] or exhorting men to learn geometry in order to improve their morals? As for music, we are aware that he knew nothing more of it than the pleasure of hearing it. But he was constantly discussing with his friends what propriety was, or fortitude, or justice, or other virtues.[2] 6. These he called the important concerns of mankind; other things he said were impossible to be comprehended by man, or were akin to fables, trifling amusements for the mind, such as those on which the sophists so superciliously descant. Nor did he only say this, without observing it in his conduct; but to detail what he did to you who know it, though it would not be unpleasing, would take up time; and I have recorded it elsewhere.[3]

7. Let those, therefore, whom Socrates did not satisfy, be convinced and keep silence, or adopt just notions respecting him; a man to whose wisdom the god at Delphi testified, while those who put him to death could find no expiation by repentance.[4] 8. But these illustrious philosophers[5] are in love with Egypt and the prodigious knowledge of Pythagoras,[6] their extravagant pursuit of which convicts them of inconstancy to Socrates, as does also their love of tyranny, and their preference of the immoderate luxury of a Sicilian table to a frugal diet.[7]

[1] Comp. Mem. Soc. iv. 7. 6.

[2] Mem. Soc. i. 1. 16.

[3] In the Memorabilia of Socrates.

[4] Though the Athenians afterwards repented of having condemned Socrates, and banished those who were the cause of his death, while they paid Socrates himself almost divine honours, yet they could never think that they had made sufficient atonement for their fault. *Zeune.*

[5] Here again the text is unsound. For Τὸ δὲ καλὸν ἄρα, with which the sentence begins, Gesner in his edition of Stobæus reads οἱ δὲ καλοὶ ἄνδρες.

[6] This, according to Zeune, is directed against Plato, who, like Pythagoras, travelled in Egypt, and in whose philosophy, he says, there are traces of that of Pythagoras.

[7] This also refers to Plato, says Zeune, who was a friend of the Dionysii, the tyrants of Sicily. Comp. Cic. Tusc. Disp. v. 35.

FROM A LETTER TO CRITO.[1]

.... For be assured that Socrates often said to us, that those who are anxious about their children that they may have abundance of wealth, but have no care that they may become honourable and upright, act like those who breed horses, but train them to no military uses, though they supply them with abundance of food; 2. since they will thus have their horses fatter, but unqualified for what they ought to be able to do, as the merit of a horse consists, not in having abundance of flesh, but in being courageous and well-exercised for the field of battle. The same fault, he said, was committed by those who acquire a great quantity of land for their children, but are regardless of their personal improvement; since what they possess will be thought of great value, but themselves of very little; while, on the contrary, that which possesses ought to be more valuable than that which is possessed. 3. Accordingly, he who renders his son deserving of high estimation has, though he bequeaths him but little, bestowed upon him much; for it is from the condition of the mind[2] that our possessions appear greater or less, since to a well-ordered mind they seem sufficient, but to an ill-regulated and untaught mind too little. 4. You give your children nothing more than necessity requires: this, however, by the well-instructed, is considered not only sufficient for their wants, but absolute wealth; but as for the ignorant, though it frees them from bodily uneasiness,[3] it does not at all diminish their despondent views of the future.

FROM A LETTER TO SOTEIRA.[4]

To me, Soteira, death appears nothing either repulsive or attractive, but merely an end of life, though not indeed the same for all, as inequality from birth, in regard to strength or weakness, brings inequality in number of years;[5] and as different causes, sometimes disgraceful, and sometimes honourable and becoming, bring on death.

[1] Stob. Tit. 83. 29.
[2] Comp. Banquet, c. 4, sect. 34.
[3] As hunger, thirst, cold. *Zeune.*
[4] Stob. Tit. 121. 37.
[5] This passage is corrupt. I follow Weiske's reading and interpretation.

FROM THE SAME LETTER.[1]

But neither ought you to feel so much concern about death, knowing that we must regard birth as the beginning of man's course, and death as the end. He[2] has died, as he who was even ever so reluctant would have died; but to die honourably is the part of one who is willing to die, and who has been taught what he ought to know. Happy therefore is Gryllus, and whoever chooses, not the greatest prolongation of life, but life distinguished by virtue; though the gods granted him, indeed, but a short life.

FROM A LETTER TO LAMPROCLES, OR LAMPROCLEIA.[3]

... For you must first of all approve the excellent precept of Socrates, that "we must measure wealth;"[4] for Socrates used to say, that vast property was not wealth, but so much as is becoming for us to use; and he admonished us besides not to err in our judgment about such matters, as those who use what they possess becomingly are justly to be called rich; but others he pronounced poor, and declared that they were afflicted with poverty of an incurable kind, as it was want of understanding, and not of pecuniary means. * * * No evil indeed originates with a man who makes prudence and temperance the foundations of wisdom.

There are five Letters attributed to Xenophon in the Socratis et Socraticorum Epistolæ, *published by Leo Allatius, and placed by Weiske at the end of his edition of Xenophon; but as they, with the rest of the letters in Leo's volume, are now universally regarded as forgeries, it is not thought necessary to translate them.*

J. S. W.

[1] Stob. Tit. 124. 42.

[2] That is, Gryllus, the son of Xenophon, who is named just below, and who fell with honour in the battle of Mantineia.

[3] Stob. Tit. 5. 79, 80.

[4] Comp. Hiero, c. 4, sect. 8.

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